

CORPORATE SCANDAL OR INDUSTRY CORRUPTION?
HOW THE VW EMISSIONS CRISIS WAS FRAMED IN PUBLIC
PRINT MEDIA AND COMPANY COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

On 3 September 2015, the Volkswagen emissions scandal was dramatically drawn to the public's attention when the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discovered the company was intentionally installing 'defeat' software to misrepresent its diesel cars' exhaust emission levels. The scandal resulted in a global recall of hundreds of thousands of cars, billions of dollars in fines and a loss of reputation for the company.

This research adopted an interpretive perspective and a social constructionist ontological position to explore how public print media together with the company constructed the emissions scandal. To do this, I applied a framing analysis that involved examining newspaper articles from seven countries and the company's website articles over 12 months, from the scandal's discovery in September 2015 until the settlement of lawsuits in September 2016.

Seventy one company website communications from Volkswagen and 751 newspaper articles from *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *The Times of India*, *O GLOBO* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* were collected. These represent the most influential of the digitally accessible newspapers in Volkswagen's seven most important international car markets. The analysis involved two phases: First, the articles were subjected to a preliminary analysis using Leximancer and NVivo software to identify potential frames that could arise in the framing analysis. Secondly, a framing analysis was applied to those articles to identify dominant frames, recognise recurring patterns, and identify the similarities and differences between the newspapers and the company's communications.

There were five key findings. First, 10 dominant frames occurred in both the global and local reporting. Secondly, of these the frames, the company accountability, individual accountability, investigative, scandal, and solution frames appeared consistently. Thirdly, these emerged at the same point on the scandal's timeline which points to the frames being used to show the story's progression and to respond to events. Fourthly, the cooperation, future, accepting accountability, redemption, solution and staff restructuring frames constantly appeared in the company's online communications. Fifthly, together these findings

revealed that the print media and Volkswagen operated in parallel worlds characterised by a complete lack of ideational engagement.

This research represents the first study to compare the framing of the Volkswagen emissions scandal in public print media with the company's communications, both across countries and over time. The findings from this study reinforce the value of employing framing analysis to understand the degree of collaboration between media and a corporate across a developing corporate risk, providing valuable insights into the degree to which the media and company communications are synchronised during a scandal as well as filling a gap in the current literature on the Volkswagen emissions scandal.

1 THESIS OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION

“Corporate scandals generate public scrutiny of organizational communication practices, invoke discourses about systemic change, and problematize firms’ legitimacy as communication agents” (Kuhn & Ashcraft, 2003, p.21). Obtaining a negative reputation can have detrimental effects on a corporation’s market position, stock value, sales, brand equity and brand association. It can cause shareholders and stakeholders to lose trust in the company and can damage employee morale, resulting in reduced production, poor communication and loss of commitment and vision (Lyon & Cameron, 2004). Therefore, when faced with a crisis, it is crucial corporations initiate appropriate crisis response strategies to minimise such negative impacts and to protect their reputation (Kiambi & Shafer, 2015).

It is not surprising, then, that corporate reputation and crisis management are topics of considerable interest to managers and business owners and that there is a plethora of texts addressing how to build and protect corporate reputation and how to respond when a crisis occurs. Recent airline crises provide good examples of crisis response strategies and the protection of corporate reputation. Ray (1999, p.1) states that airlines often encounter “accusations of blame, irresponsibility, or inadequacy”, which can have a severe negative impact on organisational reputation. A current example of this was when Malaysian Airlines encountered two major crashes in the same year. The damage caused to the company’s reputation led to bankruptcy (Coombs & Holladay, 2008; DeBord, 2015). Coombs (2012b) highlights the fact that organisations can counter reputation damage by applying crisis-response strategies. For example, a widely recognised framework in crisis communication is the Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) (Coombs & Holladay, 2002; Ki & Nekmat, 2014; Liu, Austin, & Jin, 2011). This framework introduces numerous crisis-response options that are effective when aligned with the current crisis, the organisation’s crisis history and its prior relationship with the public (Coombs, 2012b).

A considerable amount of current academic literature on this topic focuses on media relations. This is because of the media’s ability to frame and influence audience perception, to set a nation’s agenda and to focus public attention on key issues, particularly when audience members lack personal understanding. This is an immense and well-researched area

(Cappella & Jamieson, 1996). Although there is the reality of accidental framing, media frames are typically structured in a logical and deliberate way. This allows them to “promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution” for an issue (Entman, 2004, p.6). During a scandal, these frames play a substantial role in its evolution and direction (Schultz, Kleinnijenhuis, Oegema, Utz, & van Atteveldt, 2012).

The academic literature on framing spans many disciplines and fields of study including linguistics, literary studies, social psychology, management and media studies so, not surprisingly, framing theory is extensive and equivocal. For this research, which is examining framing in publicly available print media, framing is defined as the process whereby writers assemble a narrative to shape the meaning of a subject, raise the salience of particular ideas, reduce the complexity of an issue and encourage target audiences to think, feel and act in a certain way. Furthermore, a ‘frame’ was defined as a pattern of cognition through the selection of mental structures that are organised to stimulate problem definition, sensemaking and interpretation of a perceived reality (Entman, 1993; Fairhurst, 2010; Gitlin, 1980; Gamson, 1989).

Modern history contains many corporate scandals, including Enron and Toshiba’s accounting scandals, the BP oil spill and the FIFA corruption crisis. In the last two years, we have witnessed the development of the Volkswagen emissions scandal. The scandal was dramatically drawn to the public’s attention in September 2015 when the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discovered the car maker was intentionally installing ‘defeat’ software to misrepresent diesel cars’ exhaust emission levels. The EPA found Volkswagen’s cars were emitting 40 times the permitted levels of nitrogen oxide (The Volkswagen emissions scandal explained, 2015). Initially, Volkswagen denied the claims, but government investigations in North America, Europe and Asia established over 11 million vehicles were fitted with defeat software. This discovery led to an immediate drop in Volkswagen’s stock price and an estimated \$18 billion in legal bills, fines and recall costs to rectify the situation. (Gates, Ewing, Russell, & Watkins, 2016).

This scandal provides an ideal opportunity to examine how media framing contributed to the scandal and articulated the company’s response. As Volkswagen’s market is global and the magnitude of the scandal took time to be realised, this scandal also provides an opportunity to compare the media and company’s framing over time and compare media

framing of a large global brand in different countries. To take advantage of this opportunity, media reports in mainstream newspapers in seven key Volkswagen markets (i.e., the UK, US, Australia, China, India, Brazil and Germany) were examined across the period of the scandal's emergence. For this reason, the research not only provides an in-depth analysis of how a high profile contemporary scandal was framed in media and company communications but also contributes to our understanding of how a global scandal plays out in different markets. Such cross-cultural comparisons are rare. It also provides a valuable analysis of how a company, faced with a rapidly escalating global scandal that challenges its integrity in a profoundly damaging way, uses framing to confront allegations, limit their impact and start rebuilding stakeholder confidence.

This introductory chapter will now preview the extant literature on the Volkswagen emissions scandal and introduce the key concepts used in this research, namely framing and crisis communication. Subsequently, the proposed research questions are presented, followed by a discussion of the envisioned theoretical contributions and an outline of the thesis.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF EXTANT RESEARCH

The primary aim of this research is to apply a framing analysis to understand how the Volkswagen emissions scandal was created, responded to and framed in public print media and company communications, across countries and over time. To do this, it is important to examine the existing literature to acknowledge what is currently understood about this topic, as well as the interactions between the elements the researcher chose to examine.

As the Volkswagen emissions scandal is fairly recent, few studies, including ones employing a framing analysis, have been published. The available literature on the Volkswagen emissions scandal examines factors such as environmental factors (Lane, 2016; Schmidt, 2016), effects on health (Burki, T. 2015; Krall & Peng, 2015; Oldenkamp, Zelm, & Huijbregts, 2016; Wang, Jerrett, Sinsheimer, & Zhu, 2016), business ethics (Bovens, 2016; Elsass, Park, Adkins, & April, 2016; Rhodes, 2016), corporate governance (Arbour, 2016; Crête, 2016) and stock price movements (Kucukasahin & Coskun, 2016). None of these studies employed a framing analysis and therefore cannot understand how the Volkswagen emissions scandal was created, responded to and framed in public print media and company communication, across countries and over time, which is what this research aims to achieve.

Currently, there are four known research publications examining both the framing of Volkswagen and the media (Abdellah, 2016; Mesch, 2016; Mitev, 2016; Van Der Meer, 2016). These studies provided insights into crisis communication strategies, how a scandal is framed by news media and the company, how it is framed over time, how crisis communication differed between employees and customers, and the process of frame alignment during a crisis. These studies highlighted that the media can force response strategies, that framing towards employees and customers can differ, and the importance of crisis communication and frame alignment during a crisis. However, these studies are limited in scope because they have either a small sample size or narrow regional focus. This means there is a need for studies with more substantial samples and a wide international focus. The study reported in this master's thesis responds to this need by incorporating a large number of media reports across seven countries.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research seeks to understand how framing was used to respond to the Volkswagen emissions scandal. This research focuses on how the media and the company sought to influence audience perception and focus attention on key issues, over time and across countries. To do so, the following three research questions directed the enquiry and are questions that reflect the predominant aim of the study.

In the present business environment, corporate communication, when managed from a strategic perspective, can instil a distinct competitive advantage in many organisations (Balmer & Gray, 2000). Organisations use corporate communication to influence their shareholders, stakeholders and the wider public's perceptions to maintain a positive image and restore damage to their reputation (Ray, 1999). The media are often the starting point for public discussion. They act as extremely influential commentators during a crisis, allowing them to strengthen negative opinions and outcomes for the corporation involved (Fearn-Banks, 2009). Given this, the current study seeks to explore:

RQ1: What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions?

Framing research examines how both the media and their audiences make sense of social issues or events. Every country has social, economic, political and cultural differences; therefore it is logical to presume there are differences in the frames used in different countries (Bowe, Oshita, Terracina-Hartman, & Chao, 2014). A study by Melki (2014) found strong regional framing trends were explained as a result of the interplay of political, economic and cultural factors that confined each network's journalistic practices. Given this, the current study seeks to explore:

RQ2: How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets?

The term 'frame changing' is used when an event or issue is being framed and its different features are accentuated at different times. "Frames tend to change because there are different orientations toward public issues and events depending on how well those issues and events are known" (Houston, Pfefferbaum, & Rosenholtz, 2012, p. 609). Given this, the current study seeks to explore:

RQ3: How does crisis framing change over a scandal?

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research examines articles about the Volkswagen emissions issue in an international sample of newspapers with large national (and in some cases international) readership and public texts provided by Volkswagen. As Volkswagen is a global company, seven nationally influential newspapers representing seven of the company's key national markets were examined alongside company communications. This was done using a frame analysis over the period from when the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discovered the organisation was intentionally installing 'defeat' software to misrepresent their cars' exhaust emissions levels (September 2015), to when the first criminal charge was laid one year later (September 2016).

1.5 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

1.5.1. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY

This research is expected to contribute to theory in two literatures: the framing and corporate crisis literatures. In relation to the framing literature, the study is expected to contribute to our understanding of three aspects of framing theory - crisis framing, frame changing and the framing of media and company perspectives.

In terms of the corporate crisis literature, this research is expected to provide a case that contributes to the theory on corporate crisis communication. Few studies have examined a contemporary corporate scandal using framing analysis of both the organisation and the media, over time and across countries. Therefore, this research will contribute to the understanding of how Volkswagen's company communication and the media's communication interrelate. This research will also contribute to the scant academic literature exploring the Volkswagen emissions scandal.

1.5.2 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This research is expected to provide a case for other companies to reflect on and provide insights into how frames shape sense-giving behaviour in the public arena. It offers companies valuable insights into the consequences of deceptive behaviour and reveals the challenges of addressing these consequences in public textual communication with stakeholders. This research seeks to provide examples of the importance of employing a crisis communication strategy in times of turmoil. Furthermore to show the importance of transparent communication with stakeholders, shareholders, governments and the wider public both nationally and internationally during times of crisis.

1.6 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis consists of seven chapters followed by a reference list and appendices. This section outlines the contents of each chapter.

Chapter 1- THESIS OVERVIEW

This introductory chapter has introduced the research by providing an overview of the three key topic areas, framing both from the media and the company's perspectives, framing in different countries with different cultural perspectives and frame changing. It then proposed three research questions and briefly explained the research methodology. Finally, this chapter has outlined the theoretical contributions and practical implications of the research.

Chapter Two reviews the literature on corporate crisis and crisis communication, framing, frame changing and cultural framing. First, an overview is given of what is known about companies in crisis with examples of possible crises and their effects. Crisis communication is then discussed from both the media and the company's perspectives. This section looks particularly at different types of crisis communication management strategies. This is followed by a discussion of framing, frame changing, and framing in different cultures. A discussion of reputation and rebuilding reputation after a crisis, ending in explained examples of current Volkswagen studies using framing analysis that have exposed a gap for further research.

Chapter Three addresses the methodological components of this research. This chapter provides a detailed outline of the processes taken to develop this study, including data collection, pre-analysis and full analysis and locates these in a social constructionist perspective. It then looks at the ethical considerations and the justification of the chosen methods is discussed.

Chapter Four uses the literature to profile Volkswagen to explain its history, including its reputation pre-scandal. This chapter then presents a timeline of the events that shaped the Volkswagen emissions scandal.

Chapter Five presents the results of the framing analysis of national newspapers' articles. It includes a process map and Leximancer concept maps and then presents the results of the comparative analysis of newspaper articles. This chapter then presents the findings of the examination of the public text communications Volkswagen used to communicate with stakeholders as the scandal emerged. It concludes by examining these findings in light of the information presented in the beginning of this chapter.

Chapter Six discusses the findings of the previous two chapters in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. In doing this, it highlights the way the findings illustrate and extend what is known about crisis communication and framing, both from a media and corporate perspective. In particular, it highlights the dominance of a set of frames that shaped the lead the Volkswagen emissions scandal story, the significance of treating scandals as simultaneously global and local, and the use of similar frames between countries. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the importance of companies employing communication strategies and the importance of transparent communication with stakeholders, shareholders, governments, the public and the media.

Chapter Seven concludes this thesis by providing answers to the three research questions presented in Chapter One, which were, what types of frames are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions? How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets? And how does crisis framing change over a scandal? Furthermore, building on the discussion in the previous chapter, it explores the significance of the findings for theory and practice, the limitations of the research and the opportunities for future research, finally ending in a summary of the research purpose.

1.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has provided the background and rationale for this study of the media and company communication associated with the Volkswagen emissions scandal and has identified where it fits into the literature. It has introduced the research questions this qualitative inductive study sought to answer and the framing analysis used to compare the framing used by the media and Volkswagen over time and across a sample of the company's biggest markets. The chapter then presented the expected contributions of this research and an outline of the remainder of the thesis. The next chapter will discuss the literature on the use of message framing, the use of framing over time, contemporary cases that address framing over time, and what we know about framing across countries. The chapter will also introduce current framing studies on the Volkswagen emissions scandal and conclude with a discussion of the gaps in the literature and the opportunities these present for future research.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Through their practices of selection and presentation of salient information as news, the news media construct a particular version of a story, that allows them put an organisation in the spotlight and influence the public's thoughts and feelings about an organisation (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). It is fair to assume that, because of different objectives, the organisation and the media's attitudes towards stakeholders or facts emphasised in coverage and communication would contrast throughout the duration of a corporate reputation crisis (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). It is important to understand scandal dynamics and organisation responses because such understanding can help leaders rebuild organisation reputation and provide direction for future action (Sims, 2009). This chapter introduces the theoretical background for this research. First, it reviews the literature on corporate crises, the impact crises have on organisation reputation, models for understanding and managing corporate reputation during corporate crises and scandals, how media communication contributes to corporate crises and how corporations communicate with their stakeholders during these crises. The chapter then looks at the literature on the use of message framing, the use of framing over time and contemporary cases that address framing over time and what we know about framing across countries. It also introduces current framing studies on the Volkswagen emissions scandal. This review concludes with a discussion of the gaps in this literature and the opportunities these present for future research.

2.2 CORPORATION CRISIS

2.2.1 WHAT IS A CORPORATE CRISIS?

The crisis communication literature addresses a wide range of phenomena, including scandals, environmental crises, natural disasters and product failures (Fearn-Banks, 2011). The field is characterised by models and concepts that have been applied across crises, emergencies and disasters. One of the earliest conceptualisations of a crisis was presented by Hermann (1963); it proposes that crises are events characterised by threat, surprise and short-term response times. Pearson and Clair (1998, p. 60) expand on this, defining a corporate crisis as "a low-probability, high-impact event that threatens the viability of the organisation

and is characterised by ambiguity of cause, effect, and means of resolution”. More recently, Coombs (2012a, p.2) defines a crisis as “the perception of an unpredictable event that threatens important expectancies of stakeholders and can seriously impact an organisation’s performance and generate negative outcomes”. This emphasis on impact is supported by Frandsen and Johansen (2010), who agree that a crisis causes disruption to a company’s normal work. This prompted Coombs (2012a) to make a distinction between a crisis and an incident, stating that an incident is a minor issue whereas a crisis can disrupt an entire organisation.

A corporate crisis involving ambiguity and unexpected risks can occur at any time (Coombs, 1999a). Coombs (2014, p. 1) states that “all companies should be prepared for a crisis”. Often, the challenge for organisations is knowing how to respond and address their stakeholders’ concerns. Because of the fact crises are extremely hard to predict, it is difficult for organisations to know who could be affected by a crisis and what they would expect from the company during a crisis (Coombs, 2014). During a crisis, a corporation’s reputation is particularly vulnerable because negative publicity can generate undesirable opinions among the public (Coombs, 2006). Kim and Cameron (2011) state that there are many different types of corporate crises and each type has distinctive characteristics and stages. Classifications of crises distinguish between fraud, deception, misconduct and skewed values. Fraud involves criminal acts of deception, deception is a form of corruption involving dishonest acts, misconduct involves unlawful or inappropriate acts and skewed values are values that have changed to become biased and misleading. These acts are usually knowingly performed for personal or corporate financial gain (Kim & Cameron, 2011).

2.2.2 WHEN IS A CRISIS A SCANDAL?

Often scandals fall within a subgroup of events that construct an organisational crisis; however, they present additional characteristics. An organisational crisis is “a low-probability, high-impact event that threatens the viability of the organization and is characterized by ambiguity of cause, effect, and means of resolution, as well as by a belief that decisions must be made swiftly” (Pearson & Clair, 1998, p. 60). A crisis implies that the event offers an “element of surprise” (Preble, 1997, p. 777). According to Boin (2005), a crisis presents a threat to “core values or life-sustaining systems” and requires immediate response under uncertain conditions.

Not every organisational crisis, including those with extensive consequences, constitutes a scandal. Unlike crises, scandals involve identifiable actors who are, or should be, held responsible for their actions. A scandal is generated by actions that offend shared moral sensibilities and therefore becomes the focus of attention (Demott, 2012). De Maria (2010, p. 69) provides a definitional distinction between a crisis and a scandal by saying a scandal is public exposure of an organisation which has not reacted well to a crisis, and “an organisation can be in crisis but not scandalized and an organization can be scandalized without (any longer) being in crisis”. Furthermore, a scandalised organisation is one that becomes an object of public disgrace, either because of the original offence or because of its response to the crisis (De Maria, 2010).

Any crisis can become a corporate scandal when the response involves unethical behaviour or illegal actions (Grebe, 2013). Scandals also differ from crises because reputation is central to a scandal’s impact. A well-publicised scandal and the damage it inflicts on the reputations of the individuals or organisation involved may carry long-lasting consequences (Demott, 2012). A crisis can develop into a scandal based on the factors of the original problem where an individual or organisation is held accountable. However, a seemingly harmless event can become a crisis if it is deemed it was handled improperly or if it was considered offensive (Coombs, 1998). An already serious offence can further escalate to threaten the organisation’s existence (Benoit, 1997).

For an individual or organisation, the long-term fault in the aftermath of a scandal may overpower its immediate consequences, legal, financial or otherwise (Demott, 2012). Cohan (2009) states that the underlying conduct that makes an event or issue a scandal is the violation of law. An example of a scandal involving illegal conduct is the News Corp. scandal whereby employees hacked cell phone records of News of the World and paid off police officers for phone records (Freedman, Benson, Gerbaudo, Garcia, Parthasarathi, Chan & Thompson, 2012).

Many different circumstances can lead to a corporate scandal. However, most corporate scandals have been linked to an inadequate organisational culture or structure, poor decision-making by individuals inside the organisation and the results of being under pressure from marketing or economic forces (Kochan, 2002; Kuhn & Lee Ashcraft, 2003). Research by

Bazerman & Tenbrunsel (2011) introduced five barriers to becoming an ethical organisation. One barrier is called 'motivated blindness' whereby people see what they want to see and ignore unethical behaviours if practising them brings benefits. Another barrier is labelled 'overvalue outcomes'. This is where people overlook or ignore unethical behaviour if the value of the outcome outweighs the consequences.

Typical examples of corporate scandals that involve fraud are bribery, e.g., the GlaxoSmithKline LLC scandal (Schipani, Liu & Xu, 2016), insider trading, e.g., the Enron scandal (Agrawal & Cooper, 2015), incorrect financial figures on current or previous investments or operations, e.g., the waste management scandal (Cahan, Zhang & Veenman, 2011), a postponement or failure to divulge crucial information, or any other forms of illegal action (Dyck, Morse, & Zingales, 2010).

When these actions become public knowledge, they may damage the corporation's reputation and lose support from shareholders and stakeholders, as well as have enormous financial consequences. An example is Karpoff, Lee, and Martin's (2008) study that examined corporations for financial misconduct and assessed the penalties enforced by the United States Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) and compared these with those enforced in the legal system. The results showed that the penalties enforced by the market or SEC were 7.5 times greater than those enforced in the courts.

When a corporation is shown to have acted in an irresponsible or deceptive manner, it will undoubtedly lose trust, legitimacy and respect from its shareholders and stakeholders (Mahon & Wartick, 2003; Shim & Yang, 2016). To prevent negative damage to its reputation, a corporation must continuously follow society's norms, abide by the law and honour the social responsibilities it may have. Where corporations fail to meet these obligations, a positive reputation may become an unfavourable one (Shim & Yang, 2016). A reputation may not be viewed in the same way across all stakeholders and shareholders. This means different ethical views and opinions contribute to the crisis. This is why Coombs (2007) emphasises the importance of corporations having a crisis response strategy in place. If a company fails to respond, it creates an opportunity for the media to step into the vacuum and create a negative representation of the situation. Heath and Millar (2004) found that once the initial framing of a crisis has been presented to the public, it persists and is hard for a company to counter. Failure to provide the initial frames sets the company up to suffer more reputation damage

than if it had taken the initiative and provided the initial framing (Claeys & Cauberghe, 2014; Coombs, 2007b; Coombs & Holladay, 2012).

2.2.3 LIMITING THE DAMAGE

Corporations increasingly use Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes as part of a crisis response strategy. Socially responsible practices are business practices that make a positive contribution to society. They embrace the idea that corporations need to break away from solely thinking about profitability and operating as secluded economic entities that operate independently of the broader society (Du, Bhattacharya, & Sen, 2010; Joyner & Payne, 2002; Zheng, Luo & Wang, 2013). Increasingly, society expects corporations to be concerned with environmental protection, employee wellbeing, the community and society in general (Baldarelli & Del Baldo, 2016; Buyaert, 2012; Lehmann, Christensen & Ma, 2010). If corporations adopt socially responsible behaviours, they can receive a number of benefits including improved financial performance, an enhanced brand image and reputation and lower operating costs (Burke & Logsdon, 1996; Ducassy, 2013; Shen & Chang, 2009). CSR programmes are used to prepare and prevent a corporation suffering negative reputation damage in a crisis (Vanhamme & Grobбен, 2008). Acts of CSR can generate a form of goodwill (Jones, Jones, & Little, 2000). Schnietz and Epstein (2005) state that a corporation with a positive history in CSR will be more likely to protect its reputation during a crisis and ensure its position in the stock market can be maintained. This suggests a corporation without a history of CSR could find it harder to recover from a crisis. Other literature examining CSR behaviour and corporate crises has found that the timeframe across which the CSR behaviour occurred influenced people's opinions about whether it was conducted under selfless conditions (Webb & Mohr, 1998).

2.2.4 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights that crises are varied in both cause and effect. The literature contains many examples of the different sorts of crisis but does not always differentiate between them when proposing how they should be managed. There is, however, mounting evidence that those companies with CSR programmes may be advantaged, suffer less reputation damage or recover more quickly when damage occurs. The

next section looks more closely at reputation, the main casualty in a corporate scandal and how crisis communication can be managed to limit reputation damage.

2.3 ORGANISATION REPUTATION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO A CORPORATE CRISIS AND SCANDAL

2.3.1 CORPORATE REPUTATION

A company's reputation is the corporate element that is under the most immediate threat during a crisis (Ryan & Jacobs, 2005). An early definition of corporate reputation described it as:

“A collective representation of a firm's past actions and results that describes the firm's ability to deliver valued outcomes to multiple stakeholders. It gauges a firm's relative standing both internally with employees and externally with its stakeholders, in both its competitive and institutional environment” (Fombrun & Van Riel, 1997, p. 10).

A more recent definition describes corporate reputation as “the set of knowledge and emotions held by various stakeholder groups concerning aspects of a firm and its activities” (Zyglidopoulos, 2001, p.418). Doorley and Garcia (2007) use a different approach to create a definition of reputation. They recognise that reputation is a combination of various stakeholders' images and perceptions of an organisation and use a formula to identify what creates these images and perceptions. This formula is:

Reputation = Sum of Images = (Performance and Behaviour) + Communication.

The formula recognises that reputation is images and then looks at the elements that contribute to the images. It identifies these as an organisation's performance and behaviour and how it communicates these. This is expanded further by Schwaiger's (2004) characterisation of reputation. Schwaiger proposes that an organisation's communication embraces its corporate brand in its marketing area, its actions and behaviour in the future, and its expression of corporate identity.

Corporate reputations are very multidimensional and are also very stakeholder specific (Burke, Martin, & Cooper, 2011). A corporation's identity is actively formed by insiders who identify where the company belongs, its distinctiveness and uniqueness and its collective belief and understanding of what the organisation is, at the same time taking into account the perceptions and attitudes of outsiders towards the organisation (Bartel, Blader, & Wrzesniewski, 2007; Bouchikhi & Kimberly, 2008; Deephouse & Carter, 2005). A corporate reputation emerges at the interface between insiders' actions and the responses of external individuals and groups. It is an overall assessment that goes beyond particular qualities or features (Shenkar & Yuchtman-Yaar, 1997). Corporate reputations are shaped by organizational comparisons (Dowling, 2004).

A good corporate reputation has a positive impact on the performance of an organisation (Iwu-Egwuonwu, 2011). For example, Lee and Roh (2012) conducted a study that operationalised corporate reputation as a measure of Fortune's "America's Most Admired Companies" of 2008 and matched the companies with firm characteristics and financial performance from COMPUSTAT Research Insight during 2001 and 2005. A total of 230 organisations were selected and subjected to multiple regression analysis to identify the relationship between corporate reputation and performance. The results showed that most corporate reputation variables were positively and significantly related to corporate performance measures and debt leverage has a negative effect on profitability.

2.3.2 HOW TO MANAGE CORPORATE REPUTATION IN TIMES OF CRISIS AND SCANDAL

Mediated communication is a dominant apparatus in establishing reputation (Seemann, 2008). Without public opinion, reputation either fades significantly, or cannot be established at all. Subsequently, public scandals constitute a major reputational threat, they can bring disgrace upon an organisation, have a negative impact on profitability or threaten it's the organisations survival (Lerbinger, 1997). When reputation is being threatened, communication, an aspect of crisis management, becomes crucial. Fearn- Banks (2007) states that during a crisis, internal communication allows an organisation to stop rumours, whereas external communication favours public perception (Penrose, 2000). Due to the fact the perception of a crisis is determined by the individual observer (Thiessen & Ingenhoff, 2011), the purpose of communication is not just to inform, but also to influence the crisis (Thiessen

& Ingenhoff, 2011). Corporations assume that their stakeholders will remain loyal, however, they are often mistaken when they enter a crisis. To protect their personal interests, stakeholders abandon the damaged corporation and will endeavour to distance themselves from the crisis (Pearson & Mitroff, 1993), particularly when the crisis generates or is a scandal.

Turner's (1974; 1980) concept of "social drama" and "redressive action" provide a useful framework to understand the relationship between corporate reputation, crisis and scandal. According to Turner (1974; 1980) social dramas have four stages. The first is called 'public breach'. This is when social norms are broken, e.g., breaking the law. The second stage is called 'crisis'. This is where the breach of social norms becomes public knowledge. People generally pick sides and the breach becomes more extensive when it involves more of the social group. The third stage is called 'redressive action'. The focus of this stage is to limit the breach's extent and impact. This can be achieved through legal action, settlements, remuneration or the resignation or punishment of a key figure. The fourth and final stage is known as 'reintegration'. This involves integration of the breaching social group back into society. Figure 2.1 visually represents Turner's model.

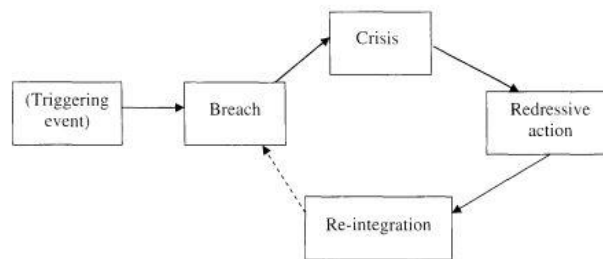


Figure 2.1 Stages of Turner's social drama- Sims Figure 1. (2009, p. 456)

Sometimes the chosen redressive action can worsen a situation rather than improve it. If this occurs, the social drama can divide an organisation from society. It is important to be aware of the cause of the crisis (the trigger) and the aftermath of a scandal (reintegration). In particular, Turner's model creates awareness and highlights the importance of reintegration. This stage questions what redressive actions look like in an organisation, particularly as the organisation and its leaders endeavour to rebuild their reputation (Turner, 1974; 1980)

Huegens, van Riel, and van den Bosch (2004) discuss four capabilities organisations use to protect their reputation. These four capabilities are dialogue, advocacy, corporate silence and crisis communication. The final two are considered redressive actions in Turner's model. First, the dialogue capability is the ability for leaders to participate in dialogue to build lasting relationships with external stakeholders and communities. Secondly, the advocacy capability allows leaders to persuade external audiences that the company's goals are reached ethically and in the right way. Often, corporate communication specialists are responsible for ensuring this. Thirdly, corporate silence is when an organization chooses to remain silent to avoid revealing or adding to a crisis and risking (more) reputation damage. When silence is used, a well thought-out decision is made by the organization to avoid directly addressing concerns in the hope that 'silence is golden' and will contain the situation and avoid a crisis. The fourth and final capability, crisis communication, is a process whereby an organization establishes and uses a crisis communication procedure. During a crisis, this procedure outlines who can speak to the media, when, and what they need to say. These capabilities, alongside the stages introduced in Turner's social drama model, highlight what an organization needs to do to build, manage and maintain its organization's reputation (Sims, 2009) in a crisis. Turner's model starts with a crisis (trigger) while Huegens et al.'s (2004) dialogue and advocacy capabilities mitigate crises from turning into scandals.

There are models for how to communicate when a potentially damaging event or action becomes public. An example of these is the corporate communication response model created by Bradford and Garrett (1995). Bradford and Garrett's (1995) model highlights that observers often focus on the negative event or action, whereas the context in which the event happened disappears into the background. However, if the actor, whose actions are under evaluation, presents observers a response providing situation information (explaining the reason behind the action) and/or positive dispositional information (remorse, intentions) observers can wrongly associate the responsibility for the action to the actor's negative tendencies. Table 2.1 highlights Bradford and Garrett's (1995) four types of responses and the four crisis situations corresponding to those.

Table 2.1 Corporate communication responsive model- Bradford and Garrett Figure 1. (1995, p.876)

<i>Crisis situation</i>	<i>Crisis communication strategy</i>
Commission situation:	Denial:
No evidence of corporate commission or that accused organisation caused the event.	Deny the occurrence of the questionable event.
Control situation:	Excuse:
Evidence of corporate commission but no evidence of corporate control.	Argue organisation can't be held responsible as factors limited its control.
Standards situation:	Justification:
Evidence of corporate commission and control but questionable standards of assessment.	Accept responsibility but argue accuser's assessment standards inappropriate.
Agreement situation:	Concession:
Evidence of corporate commission and control and appropriate standards of assessment.	Accept organization caused the event, had control and accuser's assessment standards fair.

In Bradford and Garrett's (1995) study, concession was found to be the optimal communication response to protect or repair an actor/organisation's image in all situations except a control situation. Huang (2006) adopted Bradford and Garrett's (1995) model in a study that tested the model in four independent cases focused on accusations of adulterous affairs against political figures in Taiwan. The study conducted a comparative analysis of over 1,220 news articles reporting four political figures' crises. The results showed that adopting denial in a commission situation, justification in a standards situation and concession in an agreement situation positively increased media coverage. Additionally, the results indicated that the most effective strategy to employ was commission, control and/or standards situations, accompanied by crisis communication strategies.

Another study, that introduces strategies on how to communicate when a potentially damaging event or action becomes public, is a study conducted by Weber, Erickson and Stone (2011). This study adopts two crisis response frameworks, Coombs' Situational Crisis Communication Theory (2007) and Benoit's Image Restoration Typology (1995), to analyze Citibank's responses to the company's financial crisis. Coombs' (2007) Situational Crisis

Communication Theory (SCCT) framework suggests that communication affects individuals' perceptions during a crisis. When an organisation initiates SCCT, they need to examine the crisis situation to identify the reputation threat level existing from the crisis. According to SCCT, an organisation's first priority is to protect stakeholders. This is achieved through 'adjusting' (adapting information to help stakeholders cope with the crisis). Once this is achieved, the organisation can initiate organization image restoration by using crisis response strategies including: deny (asserting that there is no crisis, or accusing a person or group), diminish (minimizing responsibility or perceived damage) and rebuild (indicating the organization takes full responsibility and asks for forgiveness, or offers compensation). Benoit's Image Restoration Typology (1995) introduces strategies to address responsibility and reduce the offensiveness of the crisis. This typology involves five image restoration strategies including: denial (denying involvement in the crisis), evasion of responsibility (the organisation attributes the crisis as the result of another party's actions), reducing the offensiveness of the act (the organisation tries to make the crisis seem less threatening), corrective action (implementing problem solving and future prevention steps), and mortification (taking responsibility and apologising). Weber, Erickson and Stone's (2011) results indicate that Citigroup responded to the event in an effective way to reduce the negative effects of the crisis. Citigroup applied corrective action strategies by demonstrating problem solving and future preventative actions.

In addition to the two studies introduced above, similar studies that introduce strategies on how to communicate when a potentially damaging event or action becomes public include: Garnett & Kouzmin's (2009) study analysing crisis communication strategies after the Katrina tragedy; Wertz & Kim's (2010) study analysing the crisis messages framed by media coverage during the E. coli spinach crisis in the US and Korea's rotten dumpling crisis, Nijkrake, Gosselt and Gutteling's (2014) study examining how organisation crisis response strategies affect media coverage; Fisher's (2009) study evaluating whether the media's disaster coverage reflects the messages dispersed by state emergency management agencies, and Siah Ann Mei, Bansal and Pang's (2010) study examining how news media can be used to escalate a crisis.

2.3.3 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights that corporations cannot assume that their stakeholders and shareholders will remain loyal during a crisis. It highlights the importance for an organisation to understand the relationships between corporate reputation, crisis and scandal and the importance of knowing how to employ a crisis communication strategy in order to protect its reputation. The next section looks more closely at how organisations communicate with stakeholders during crises.

2.4 CRISIS COMMUNICATION WITH STAKEHOLDERS FROM A CORPORATION'S PERSPECTIVE

Uncertainty creates an opportunity for rumours and hearsay to alter the future discourse of a crisis. Therefore, it is crucial that the corporation releases timely information to prevent an increase in uncertainty and ensure a crisis does not worsen (Veil & Ojeda, 2010). Stephens and Malone (2009) state that in order to maintain strong relationships and unity in a crisis, the corporation must first establish a line of communication with its stakeholders. This is further emphasised by the fact that a crucial factor that determines the severity of the crisis's long-term effects is the use of corporate communication both throughout and following the crisis (Coombs, 1999b). However, the obligation to produce an immediate response could hinder the corporation's capability to reach all its stakeholders (Ritchie, 2004; Seeger & Ulmer, 2001). During the beginning of a crisis, the pressure can also create stressful interactions causing conflict between stakeholders and the corporation (Pearson & Clair, 1998). To avoid this, throughout a crisis and during the recovery stage, corporate communication can be used to reduce undesirable media coverage and direct away from negative opinions towards the company (Ritchie, Dorrell, Miller, & Miller, 2004).

Because organisations operate in a developing environment, managers need to continuously evaluate new approaches to respond to their stakeholders. When determining the response to stakeholder pressures, it is important to understand the relationship between the corporation and the stakeholders (Mitchell, Agle, & Wood, 1997). Managers also need to realise that an extensive range of their stakeholders, including customers and suppliers, will be affected (Lerbinger, 1997). By observing stakeholder attributes, managers can identify

their reactions when placed in stressful situations in order to assemble the best possible contingency plan (Stephens, 2005).

A study by Sturges (1994) found that stakeholders need three types of communication during different stages of a crisis: instructing information, adjusting information and internalising information. Instructing information is used to show that the corporation is in control. This stage involves telling those involved how they can protect themselves both physically and financially. Adjusting information is the stage that aids in the coping process by expressing sympathy or apprehension for those involved. Finally, internalisation information aids in managing a corporations' reputation and is used when a crisis is ending. These three communication stages are crucial for a corporation to minimise any negative backlash.

Ultimately, the purpose of corporate communication is to influence shareholders', stakeholders' and the wider public's perceptions to maintain a positive image and restore damage to a company's reputation (Ray, 1999). A lack of stakeholder communication can result in them withdrawing support, prolong the outcomes of the crisis, or strengthen the threat against it. If a corporation demonstrates effective communication, it may receive some positive media attention (Bradford & Garrett, 1995; Holladay, 2009). Ulmer, Sellnow, and Seeger (2007) highlight that because the media play such an important role in distributing information to the public, they become a key stakeholder for the corporation, therefore, the corporation should try to create a good rapport with the media to reduce negative press in crises.

2.4.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights the crucial need for an organisation to continually release timely and detailed updates to stakeholders. It explained that stakeholders need three different types of communication during different stages of a crisis. In doing this, the organisation can maintain a positive image and restore reputation damage. The next section looks more closely at the media's communication with stakeholders during crises.

2.5 CRISIS COMMUNICATION WITH STAKEHOLDERS FROM THE MEDIA'S PERSPECTIVE

Crises often occur very suddenly, affecting people in both directly and indirectly; the need for information often varies depending on the severity of the crisis. The media contribute to a crisis by informing the public of the latest updates, how the crisis develops and how people respond to it (Westlund & Ghersetti, 2014). Stakeholders source information through a variety of different media. These include reports about the corporation from news media or blogs. However, most of the information stakeholders receive is from the news media, because they are often the first point of access for the most up-to-date information (Carroll & McCombs, 2003). This is why the media have such a prevalent influence on peoples' opinions and corporations' future reputation (Coombs, 2007a; Carroll & McCombs, 2003).

Investigative reporting may initiate a crisis but the media are not responsible for the cause of a crisis. The media do, however, have the ability to place the crisis in the spotlight or keep it out of the public eye (Nelkin, 1988). The media also can set a tone for public discussion; this is achieved through the deliberate coverage of a news story (Barnes et al., 2008).

A very low percentage of stories in the media portray a crisis in a positive light. The media use a wide variety of techniques such as tone to influence the audience's opinion regarding an issue. The tone can be seen as favourable, neutral or unfavourable. When the media use a favourable tone, the corporation is commended for its actions; a neutral tone adds no modifying emphases to the story; and an unfavourable tone criticises the corporation for its actions (Deephouse, 2000).

The media are often the starting point for public discussion. They act as extremely influential commentators during a crisis, allowing them to strengthen the negative opinions and outcomes for the corporation involved (Fearn-Banks, 2009). They can also create an emotional news story that captures the audience's attention and endangers the reputation or existence of the corporation (Coombs & Holladay, 2010). According to Coombs (2007), the media try to intensify a crisis to fulfil their audience interest in negative news. This is because negative news is more lucrative than positive news (Fearn-Banks, 2009). For example, McCluskey and Swinnen (2004) found that, assuming the costs of purchasing the good or bad

news stories are identical, individuals are more interested in bad news than good news. The results from the study also show that the expected value of additional information was higher when the stories involved negative issues, rather than positive issues (McCluskey & Swinnen, 2004).

One well-known study of a media communication was conducted by Gamson and Modigliani (1989). The study focused on a media discourse on nuclear power by examining a diverse range of media content including news, television and magazines. The study's results found that media reporting of the Three Mile Island event used two key contrasting frames¹, a runaway technology frame and a technological progress frame. They found that media framing on nuclear power greatly affected public opinion "Displays of the old faith, when they occurred, emphasized the necessity and inevitability of nuclear power idea elements that can be incorporated into these alternatives. At the same time, the theme of a technology out of control, defying its alleged masters, was repeated again and again" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 33). Another well-known study of media communication was conducted by Entman (1991) on the way in which two similar events were compared in United States media. The study compared the media's framing of a story about an Iranian airplane that was gunned down by the United States, against a story about a Korean airplane that was taken down by the Soviet Union. Even though these two events were similar, the Iranian story was framed as a technical problem whereas the Korean story was framed as a moral outrage. Both studies highlight the considerable influence the way information is presented has on public perception. Framing research has provided evidence to show the constant correlation between media and audience framing, particularly the strong correlation between the frames used by the media during events or issues and people's representations of those events or issues (D'Angelo, 2002; Elenbaas & De Vreese, 2008; Scheufele, 1999). Frames are "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion," (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) that allow writers and speakers to organize their texts. They are discussed further in later sections of this chapter.

¹ Frames are "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion," (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) that allow writers and speakers to organize their texts. They are discussed further in later sections of this chapter.

2.5.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section explains that the media contribute to a crisis by informing the public of the latest updates, how the crisis develops and how people respond to it. The section highlights that the media can put an organisation in the spotlight and set the tone for a public discussion. This section explains that the media act as extremely influential commentators during a crisis, allowing them to strengthen negative opinions and outcomes for the corporation involved. The next section looks more closely at frames and framing, which are used as communication tools during a crisis.

2.6 FRAMES AND FRAMING

Framing is an essential analytical tool used to try to figure out how people try to influence the way scandals develop and how they are responded to. The key thing, as Gitlin (1980) says above, is that media select, emphasise and exclude certain aspects, according to an idea of what is most important or interesting in the material, to facilitate understanding as Gitlin (1980) says below. By stimulating particular concepts, framing can influence people's perceptions and imagination through the use of mediated strategic communication (Han & Wang, 2015). According to Fairhurst (2010), framing is the capability to structure the meaning of a topic, usually right now, to critique its significance through a selected message. Framing has become an extremely popular topic in academic literature, this is because it creates an opportunity for questions to be raised that may not have been raised before (Reese, 2007).

The technique of framing analysis originally comes from sociology and was created by Erving Goffman in 1974; he popularised it as a tool to study social information in our daily lives (Goffman & Berger, 1986). Goffman states that frames are the “‘schemata of interpretation,’” because they operate as a framework that helps make what would otherwise be a meaningless succession of events into something meaningful (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). Gitlin (1980) defines frames as devices that facilitate a journalist's ability to organise copious amounts of information for an audience to facilitate effective understanding. He sees frames as “‘persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion,’” as a way of organising information (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). Gitlin (2003, p. 6) also states that framing in Goffman's context includes the “‘principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what

matters”. In comparison, in our daily lives media framing consolidates the world for both news reporters and the general public who rely on their stories. According to Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009, p. 19), framing theory shows how the media contribute to public opinion by using “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events”. In a crisis, the general public rely on the media to provide information in order to understand the event and assign responsibility (An & Gower, 2009).

Another leading academic who contributed to the early development of the framing literature was Robert Entman. His early definition of framing states that:

“To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Entman (1993) also suggests that frames are presented in four contexts: media production, media messages, the minds of the audience, and the surrounding culture. These frames define problems by identifying the causal agent’s purpose and costs and benefits, diagnosing causes by identifying what is creating the problem, making moral judgements by evaluating the cause and its effects, and offering solutions by suggesting treatments for the problem as well as predicting the treatments’ likely effects. This was amended in his later work. He (Entman, 2003) states that:

“Framing entails selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution. They used words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged” (p. 417).

Entman’s work moved away from talking about ‘defining a problem’ to ‘selecting an issue’ and from ‘moral evaluation’ to just ‘evaluation’. His 2003 work emphasises the process instead of the agents and reduces the importance of subjective elements. Seen in these terms, the framing of a scandal need not involve moral judgements but providing a structure within which members of the public can make their own judgements.

In more recent literature, framing has been described in many ways including as an approach, a concept, a paradigm, a perspective and an analytical technique (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Framing can be construed as the arrangement of ideas placed into a story that creates meaning; this aligns with Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) explanation of framing. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) identify framing as a union of thought and the ability to make sense of a subject, to judge a subject's significance, to judge a subject's character, to choose one meaning (or set of meanings) over another, to share with others or manage meaning and make it more noticeable, memorable and meaningful and to have the ability or power to distort meaning by creating a bias and excluding other aspects. News framing makes sense of reality, recognises problems and organises information into a form an audience can understand. Furthermore, and most significantly, news framing influences the audience while at the same time helping it to understand a particular issue or event. This is often referred to as 'agenda setting' (Ryabova, 2013). An example of this is a study that examined agenda-setting and framing techniques used by the media in their coverage of the shooter's race in the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting. Over a third of the news articles the study examined contained forms of racial information. The study compared the Virginia shooting articles with news articles on the Columbine shooting. This comparison showed that racial information was almost absent in the Columbine shooting articles. The results of the framing analysis showed that the media framed the Virginia shooting event around race and linked criminal responsibility to the shooter's ethnicity (Park, Holody, & Zhang, 2012).

Journalists play a key role in determining which frames are used to shape a news story (Hänggli 2012). An and Gower (2009) propose that there is a sequence of predominant frame types used in the media's news coverage. These frames are conflict, economic consequences, morality and human interest. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) add another frame, which they call the responsibility frame. The human interest frame connects to people's emotions by making events relatable and personal. Offering a personal narrative is a strategy used to do this because it grabs the audience's attention, evokes empathy and generates a response (Ihlen, Figenschou & Larsen, 2015). Conflict framing is highly used in the media because it creates an element of conflict and this generates attention and contributes to the placing of blame on a corporation in crisis. Responsibility framing is used to hold either an individual or a corporation accountable for their actions. Because human activities are seen as controllable actions, those who knowingly perform unethical actions can be held responsible for the

outcome (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2010). These frames are further emphasised in a study by Dowman and Mills (2008) who conducted an experiment in four New Zealand schools, in one geographic area, exploring the way education professionals made sense of newspaper articles that addressed accountability and responsibility in education. The study found four interpretative repertoires were used to make sense of the examples in the print media. These repertoires were called defensive, empathetic, cynical and collaborative. Using the frame of economic consequences identifies the financial implications of a crisis for an individual or corporation. The greater the economic consequence, the more it will be shown in the media. Finally, the morality frame is commonly used to highlight ethical actions (Mucciaroni, 2011). When used, these frames influence public opinion of and reaction to a particular issue or event. They assist the public to interpret the actions of others by directing attention to certain aspects and suggesting how they can be interpreted. They create news by using plausible frames that allow the public to understand the event in more depth and, in doing so, they play a significant role in communication during a crisis (Dillard & Solomon, 2005).

The framing of a crisis changes over time depending on the characteristics of the crisis. Some of these characteristics include the number of people involved and their status, the seriousness of the event, the damage it caused, whether it has occurred before, and whether the crisis has to compete for attention against other events happening at the same time (De Vries, 2004). The frames the media use therefore, determine if, how and how quickly an event becomes a crisis (Ulmer, Sellnow & Seeger, 2007) and whether it becomes a scandal.

There is a vast literature on corporate scandals and corporations that have found themselves in the media's spotlight. An example is the 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico (Gillis & Fountain, 2010). On the 20 April, 2010, BP's oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico exploded killing 11 people. After burning for 36 hours, the rig sank and caused one of the world's worst environmental disasters, causing billions of dollars (US) worth of damage (Gillis & Fountain, 2010). A framing study of the BP crisis compared over 3700 news articles from newspapers in the United States and the United Kingdom as well as 126 company press releases from April to August 2010. The aim of the study was to examine the agenda and differences between the frames produced by BP and the media; it was conducted using an automatic content and semantic network analysis. The results showed that BP framed the crisis as an accidental event where external causes were to blame, not the company. BP disengaged itself from the crisis and proceeded to suggest solutions for the technical problem,

effectively concentrating on a solution, not taking responsibility. The results also showed that BP's public relations framing was less complex than the media's framing. The media's framing contained more issues, actors and framing relationships and focused more on the consequences of the crisis (Schultz et al., 2012).

Frames are manifest in text (whether it's oral or written) but actually what is a frame? We almost intuitively know a frame, but there needs to be a definition. Table 2.2 presents a summary of definitions for frames and framing within the current framing literature. These do not quite fit together in a coherent way so, for the purpose of this research, working definitions, adapting concepts from current definitions, will be used. For the purpose of this research, framing is defined as the process whereby writers assemble a story to shape the meaning of a subject, raise the salience of particular ideas, reduce the complexity of an issue and encourage target audiences to think, feel and act in a certain way. A 'frame' has been defined as a pattern of cognition through the selection of mental structures that are organised to stimulate problem definition, sense-making and interpretation of a perceived reality (Entman, 1993; Fairhurst, 2010; Gamson, 1989; Gitlin, 1980).

Table 2.2 A review of framing definitions in the literature

<i>Author</i>	<i>What is a frame?</i>	<i>What is framing?</i>
Goffman (1974, p. 21)	Goffman states that frames are the "schemata of interpretation," they are a framework that helps make what would otherwise be a meaningless succession of events into something meaningful.	Framing is the way a communication source defines and constructs any piece of communicated information. Framing is an unavoidable part of human communication as everyone contributes their own frames to their communications.
Gitlin (1980, p. 70)	Frames are "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion," as a way of organising information.	Framing is "largely unspoken and unacknowledged, it organises the world both for journalists who report it, and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports".
Gamson & Modigliani (1987)	Frames are "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events ... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue".	No known definition from these authors.
Gamson (1992)	Refer to Gamson & Modigliani (1987)	Framing is the relationship between ideas and symbols used in public discourse and

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		the meaning that people construct around political issues.
Pan & Kosicki (1993)	Psychological research suggests that frames exist as cognitive structures within people's minds.	Framing impacts perceiving, organising, and interpreting incoming information and also how the inferences from that information.
Entman (1993, p. 52)	Frames are presented in four contexts, media production, media messages, the minds of the audience, and the surrounding culture. These frames define problems to identify the causal agents purpose with what costs and benefits, diagnose causes by identifying what is creating the problem, make moral judgements by evaluating the cause and its effects, and offer solutions by suggesting treatments for the problem, as well as predicting the treatments likely effects.	"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described".
Fairhurst & Sarr (1996)	Frames consists of three elements: language, thought and forethought.	Framing is a quality of communication that causes others to accept one meaning over another. Framing selects and highlights certain aspects of the situation, and excludes others, so that one meaning or set of meanings is chosen.
Entman (2003, p. 417)	Frames are presented in four contexts, media production, media messages, the minds of the audience, and the surrounding culture. These frames define problems to identify the causal agents purpose with what costs and benefits, diagnose causes by identifying what is creating the problem, make moral judgements by evaluating the cause and its effects, and offer solutions by suggesting treatments for the problem, as well as predicting the treatments likely effects.	"Framing entails selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution. They use words and images highly salient in the culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged".
Kuypers (2009)	No known definition from this author	Framing can be seen as a rhetorical act to persuade others into thinking about an issue from a particular point of view.
Tewksbury & Scheufele (2009, p. 19)	No known definition from this author	"A central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events"
Fairhurst (2010)	A 'frame' can be understood as a structured way of thinking such as the concept of customer service	Framing is the capability of structuring the meaning of a topic, usually at the present

	(designating anything that serves or supports the purchasers of a product or service).	point in time, to critique its significance through a selected message.
Han & Wang (2015, p. 63)	“Frames draw opposite evaluations from an audience about a factually identical issue or subject, which may likewise reflect the nature of the thoughts or opinions people tend to express on a foreign country”.	By stimulating particular concepts, framing can influence people’s perceptions and imagination through the use of mediated strategic communication.

Framing can have significant implications because frames emphasise some parts of reality while excluding others (Fairhurst, 2010; Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). This can result in individuals interpreting things differently. Alongside studies focussing on media frames (e.g., Brimeyer, Silva & Byrne, 2016; Delshad & Raymond, 2013; McGinty, Webster, Jarlenski & Barry, 2014; O’Malley, Brandenburg, Flynn, McMenamin & Rafter, 2014; Sisco & Lucas, 2015), researchers have also studied the formation of audience frames (e.g., Cappella & Jamieson, 1996; Domke, McCoy, & Torres, 1999; Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998; Iyengar, 1991; Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997; Price, Tewksbury & Powers, 1997; Rhee, 1997; Valkenburg, Semekto & De Vreese, 1999). This research typically explains how news framing affects people’s information processing and decision-making.

Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984) were among the first to show how presentations of almost identical information could impact on people’s choices. Their studies found that people were more likely to take risks when losses were emphasised but, when the same information was presented to them emphasising the gains, their chances of taking risks would reduce. This can be explained using an approach called “equivalency” (Druckman, 2001, p. 228), where different messages with the same logical equivalence are examined. In this approach the factual elements are compared in order to observe the pure influence of the frame. This approach comprehensively draws on research involving risk and gain (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; 1984). Druckman (2001, p. 230) introduces a type of framing that he calls “emphasis”. This type of framing involves emphasising how certain aspects of a message that can influence people to focus more on those particular aspects. Emphasising particular aspects of a message may not be enough to influence an individual’s or audience’s interpretation. Scholars have found it is often not possible to manipulate a frame unless facts within the message are changed (Domke et al., 1998; Iyengar, 1991; McLeod & Detenber 1999; Nelson et al., 1997; Valkenburg et al., 1999). Druckman (2004) highlights that often,

particularly with political issues, there is no other way to present the issue or event in a different yet equivalent way. Alternatively, he suggests that emphasis framing refers to circumstances whereby “emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations,” people will focus on these considerations when making decisions (Druckman, 2004, p. 672).

This research highlights a few implications for this current study, e.g. that there are likely to be different equivalent frames that can be used throughout the story, but that these may or may not impact on how people understand the Volkswagen crisis. Furthermore, particular emphasis on issues or events may or may not influence the way people make decisions regarding the crisis.

2.6.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights that framing is an essential analytical tool used to try to figure out how people try to influence the way scandals develop and how they are responded to. It explains that news framing makes sense of reality, recognises problems and organises information into a form an audience can understand. This section uses examples of organisations that have recently found themselves in the spotlight. It also reviews current definitions of framing and frames to produce working definitions for both. The next section looks more closely at frame changing and framing over time.

2.7 FRAME CHANGING AND FRAMING OVER TIME

The term ‘frame changing’ is used when an event or issue is being framed and its different features are accentuated at different points in time. “Frames tend to change because there are different orientations toward public issues and events depending on how well those issues and events are known” (Houston, Pfefferbaum, & Rosenholtz, 2012, p. 609).

There is a term called ‘news ecology’ where news media change from an instrumental orientation to an institutional orientation. Similarity and stability are very prominent in the later stages of a media story lifecycle. As practices move from variation toward selection and retention, the media’s orientation strategically moves from ‘instrumental’ to ‘institutional’, because this is more stable. Instrumental orientation is the strategic search of an improved fit into changing environmental niches that are anticipated by economic and dispersal

approaches whereas an institutional orientation follows tradition and is not interested in strategic fit into environments (Lowrey, 2012). As media outlets shift from instrumental orientation toward an institutional orientation, legitimacy becomes increasingly important in order to gain resources. This is because institutionalism gains importance. Whereas, it becomes decreasingly important to optimise gratifying audience's needs because the media's processes and practices are accepted in society as they become normal, these are influenced by both internal and external sources (Lowery, 2012). Lowery (2012) creates a 'news ecology model' that includes three stages: variation, selection and retention. The variation stage shows that there needs to be a very diverse range of stories so different procedures and practices are selected. The selection stage shows that the media adapt to different conditions. The media avoid changing environments, procedures and practices to discover a more stable environment. The selection stage means that the variation stage stops following governing logic. Finally, the retention stage is about survival and the future of a procedure or practice or a media company as a whole.

The idea of news ecology can be compared with the concept of issue attention cycles. Downs (1972) introduces a five-stage model called the 'issue attention cycle'. This model explains that newer events create more attention in their initial stages and then people's interest in them wears off. The five stages of Downs's model are: the pre-problem stage, the discovery and enthusiasm stage, the realization of the cost of progress stage, the decline in interest stage, and, lastly, the post-problem stage. Research has found that the average time frame an event holds its status in the public interest is usually 18 months (McComas & Shanahan, 1999). However, the duration of a news event depends on a number of different factors including who it involves, who is affected and what are its consequences.

Both news ecology and issue attention cycles can also be compared with agenda-setting. The purpose of agenda-setting is so the media can influence the public's thoughts, opinions and beliefs on a particular topic (Kiousis, 2011). Shaw and McCombs (1977, p.5) state that:

“...this impact of the mass media- the ability to affect cognitive change among individuals, to structure their thinking- has been labelled the agenda-setting function of mass communication”.

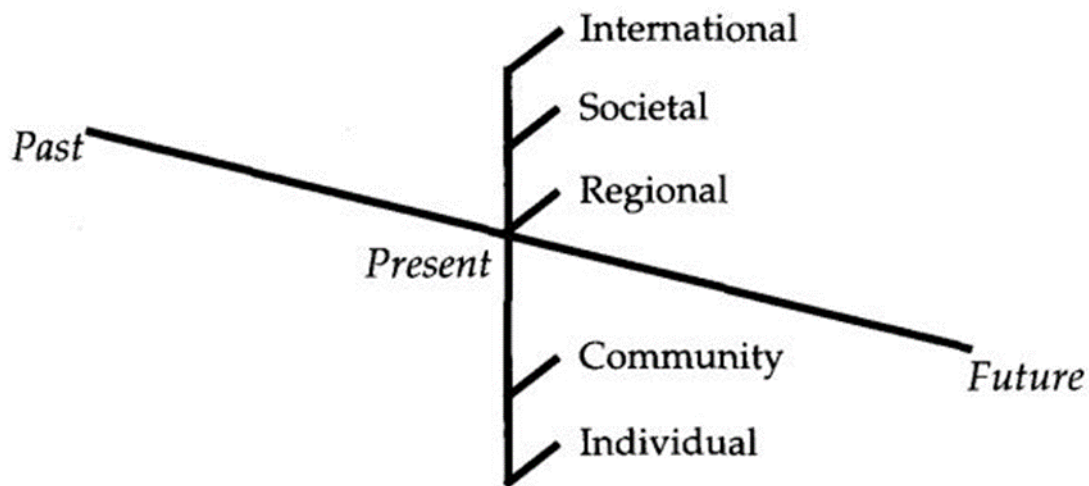
They also state that, “In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about” (Shaw & McCombs, 1977, p.5). An example of agenda setting is seen in a study by Kioussis and McCombs (2004), which examined the relationships, media coverage and public opinion of presidential candidates. The study used an agenda-setting indicator looking at the number of stories published compared with the keywords used. A total of 32,244 stories were examined; the results show that the media had put the word ‘president’ followed by the last name of the candidates running in that election. This shows that the media were trying to influence the public to think about the candidates becoming president or even persuade them to vote for that person (Kioussis, 2011).

Chong and Druckman (2010) conducted a study to examine competitive news frames and their position in the spotlight over time. Competitive news frames are the latest frames and have the strongest impact on the formation of opinions; these frames shape attitudes and behaviour (Lecheler & De Vreese, 2013). The results showed competitive framing increased public discussion on an event but there was a decreased public influence or opinion change. Matthes and Schemer (2012) state that when people receive competing messages over time, there is no guarantee that the individual will evaluate these contradictory messages.

Chyi and McCombs (2004) state that in order to examine news framing over time one must first understand the formation of news. The authors explain that ‘space’ and ‘time’ are two very important dimensions relevant to the coverage of news events. Although they state that time and space might not account for every aspect in a news story, they agree that these elements help organise ideas in journalistic practices. Time is associated with the ‘when’ in the five W’s of journalism and space is associated with the ‘where’, ‘who’, ‘what’ and ‘why’ (Hart, 1996; Lynch, 2009; Merritt & McCombs, 2014). Therefore, the measurement for media frames is established in time and space (Chyi & McCombs, 2004). Chyi and McCombs explain that the space dimension comprises five levels at both micro (individual) and macro (international) levels. Chyi and McCombs (2004) highlight that these levels are understood as intervals on a continuum. They explain that the first level, the individual level, is a news event framed with a scope limited to the individual’s involvement in an event. The second level, the community level is a news event that is framed with significance towards a certain community. The third level, the regional level, is a news event that is framed with significance towards a more general population. The fourth level, the societal level, is a news

event that is framed with social or national significance. Finally, they explain the fifth level, the international level; a news event that is framed from an international perspective. Chyi and McCombs (2004) also explain the second dimension, time. They state that although news often deals with present issues or events, news may also focus on the past. This is where historical background, related event tracing, developments for the future, future action propositions, or the evaluation of an issue or event's impact in the future is reported. Table 2.3 highlights the combination of both the time and space dimensions through a visual representation of Chyi and McCombs (2004) study.

Figure 2.2 The Two-Dimensional Measurement Scheme- Chyi and McCombs Figure 1 (2004, p. 25)



Chyi and McCombs' (2004) study also explains that in order to study framing over time, one can trace the use of space and time frames during a news events life span. For example, a kidnapping event could be framed as an individual, community or societal level and, therefore, a frame changing pattern in the space dimension could be traced. If there are multiple news events within the same news category, this scheme can aid in the identification of frame-changing patterns. For example, did the media frame the deaths of J.F. Kennedy Jr. and Princess Diana in the same way? The authors also explain that this scheme can be used to identify comparisons between highly salient news frames and non-salient news frames and whether their frame changing patterns differ. For example, is there a relationship between salience and the number of frames used over the time and space dimensions? Finally, Chyi and McCombs (2004) highlight that this scheme can be used to aid in the identification of

frame-changing patterns across news categories (e.g., the difference in the framing of the economy or politics).

2.7.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights that ‘frame changing’ is used when an event or issue is being framed and its different features are accentuated at different times. This section highlights that people lose interest after a certain time, which depends on who the story involves, who is affected and what the consequences are. This section also introduces the news ecology issue, attention cycles and agenda-setting which are used to shape and influence public thought and opinions, as well as competitive frames that have the strongest impact on the formation of opinion. The next section looks more closely at how events are framed across countries.

2.8 FRAMING EVENTS ACROSS COUNTRIES

News framing is important because “comparing media narratives of events that could have been reported similarly helps to reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text” (Entman, 1991, p. 6).

Framing of international events is particularly important because the audience lacks experience or direct involvement with the event. Therefore, the audience relies on the media to understand what is happening around the world. As a result, the media can have a more prominent impact on public opinion and perceptions of foreign news events (Dimitrova & Lee, 2009).

As previously stated, framing research examines how both the media and their audiences make sense of social issues or events. Every country has social, economic, political and cultural differences, therefore it is logical to presume there are differences in the frames used in different countries (Bowe et al., 2014). Vliegenthart and Zoonen (2011) highlight how different national media systems and cultures can affect news media’s frames. De Vreese, Peter, Holli, & Semetko (2001) studied European countries’ news coverage of the launch of the euro and found a conflicting frame was highlighted in their television news. Wittebols (1996) identified differences in a study of United States and Canadian news coverage of

social protests. The author credits these differences to variables such as global society position or political systems.

A study by Brossard, Shanahan, & McComas (2004) examining news reporting of climate-related issues found that these were reported in culturally specific ways. However, this does not suggest social constructions of issues are the same in every news source. A study by Good (2008), which references Herman and Chomsky's (1988) model of media propaganda, focused on news reporting regarding climate change, the societal factors influencing it and the role the national government played in the reporting. The study found that newspapers in the United States discussed climate change in relation to science, whereas Canadian and other international newspapers did not. Antilla's (2008) study, focussing on the news coverage of climate tipping points in the United States and United Kingdom, found very explicit differences in the reporting between the countries. In contrast, Shehata and Hopmann's (2012) study, comparing news coverage of climate tipping points in the United States and Sweden, found similarities in the coverage.

Many other studies have examined news media across countries and how they framed a diverse range of issues and events. The findings suggest news media framing differs between countries. However, few studies have compared news coverage between the United States and China, or of the reporting of scandals in different places. One example is Feng, Brewer and Ley (2012). This study used the 2008 Chinese baby formula scandal to examine how Chinese and United States news media framed a crisis event. The study compared news articles in the two leading news agencies, the Xinhua News Agency in China and Associated Press of the United States. The results showed Xinhua framed the scandal in ways that ensured the Chinese government's actions were seen in a positive way whereas Associated Press framed the scandal in a way that evaluated the Chinese government's actions negatively. These results illustrate how the news media can operate differently across countries with different economic and political contexts.

It is crucial organisations adjust the ways in which they communicate with different nations during times of crisis. Organisations need to acknowledge that the whole world is listening, and that they expect to be addressed immediately after the crisis breaks (Stohl, 2000). Stohl (2000) states that reaction to corporate messages are strongly influenced by individuals values, beliefs, and culture, and that a lack of cultural sensitivity can hinder

effective corporate communications. This is emphasised in a study conducted by Kim, Cha, and Kim (2008) in the examination of crisis communication practices in South Korea. The study revealed that respecting South Korean's crisis communication style was crucial for successful crisis recovery.

2.8.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section highlights that every country has social, economic, political and cultural differences, therefore it is logical to presume there are differences in the frames used in different countries. This section uses examples of cross-national news reporting to illustrate how different countries can have similarities or differences in coverage of the same event or issue. The next section introduces current studies that have examined the Volkswagen emissions scandal using framing as their analysis framework.

2.9 CURRENT FRAMING LITERATURE ON THE VOLKSWAGEN EMISSIONS SCANDAL

Currently, there are four known research publications examining both the framing of Volkswagen and the media. First, a study by Mitev (2016) evaluated the crisis communication strategy of Volkswagen in the US during the early stages of the crisis. The study focussed on the opposing frames used by the company and the media. This study used 12 news articles published in three United States based news agencies, the *LA Times*, *The New York Times* and *USA Today*. The findings revealed that Volkswagen failed to influence the framing processes of the media or change the negative tone of their messages. The study also found that the media continuously forced Volkswagen to change its response strategy by reframing its role in the scandal to admit responsibility for its actions.

Secondly, a study by Abdellah (2016) examined how the Volkswagen crisis was framed both by the news media in a number of countries and the company. The research elaborated this by examining framing over time and to what extent the crisis communication differentiated between employees and customers. This study examined 80-100 news articles from the following news agencies: *De Volkskrant*, *The London Times*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and the *Deutsche Presse Agentur*. The findings revealed that the framing of Volkswagen's crisis communication towards employees and customers was different. For example, Volkswagen used a reminder and ingratiation frame to express the

importance of the workforce for the success of the organization; customers were addressed with promises, reassurance, and trust frames, showing a different communication towards two different types of stakeholder.

Thirdly, a study by Mesch (2016) focussed on gaining a fundamental understanding of how the Volkswagen emissions scandal evolved in Swedish media. Articles for this study were collected from three of Sweden's largest newspapers: the *Aftonbladet*, the *Expressen* and *Dagens Nyheter*. The findings revealed that actors with an active role were assigned moral weight in order to capture the readers' interest, whereas other actors were involved in the scandal without moral relevance.

Finally, a study by Van Der Meer (2016) focussed on empirically exploring the process of frame alignment during crises. This study compared the crisis-related press releases of Volkswagen experiencing the crisis through Dutch newspaper articles and social media manifestations of the public. The findings revealed a crisis-specific pattern of frames across the organisation, the media, and the public. Overall, the results revealed that, after the absence of frame alignment in the initial crisis phase, the frames of the three actors aligned over time then the frames de-aligned in the final phase of the crisis.

These studies were conducted using either a small sample or a narrow regional focus. This current research will examine seven international newspapers, from regions in which the Volkswagen Group identify they have a major market share, as well as examining a large quantity of articles from each. This research aims to provide new cultural insights into the Volkswagen scandal that are currently unknown. Furthermore, the data set which will be applied to this study's methodology (framing analysis), is estimated to involve hundreds of newspaper articles and company communications, which is larger than any other known study. The newspaper articles which will be examined in this research will provide insights into the framing of the countries most affected by the scandal, allowing for a global perspective, over time and across countries, and ultimately contributing to filling the gap in literature.

2.9.1 CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed in this section introduces the four known studies of the Volkswagen emission scandal using framing as their analysis framework. This section highlights a gap in

the literature because these studies used either a small sample or a narrow regional focus. The next section summarises this chapter as well as introducing the following chapter.

3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This literature review examined the literature on corporate crisis and organisation reputation. This was followed by a focus on the theory of crisis communication from both the corporation and the media's perspective, the technique of framing, frame changing, framing over time and framing across countries. It used contemporary literature examples to illustrate how these concepts are approached. It also identified current framing studies on the Volkswagen emissions scandal highlighting the need for development. This review thus identified a very significant gap in the literature. It exposed a lack of knowledge and understanding of some of the latest unethical corporate actions that have recently turned into global scandals. Therefore, this literature review revealed there is more to know about how the same media operate in different countries when addressing the same contentious global issue or event. Most significantly, the review failed to locate any studies that examine how a global corporate scandal was framed across a wide range of countries and compare these with the public media framing of the company at the centre of the scandal. To address this opportunity for further research, this study seeks to explore the crisis framing of the Volkswagen emissions scandal and how this varied across countries. It also seeks to reveal how Volkswagen's public media framing engaged with the frames used in the different national newspapers studied.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology and research design used to conduct this study. The chapter will first introduce the paradigm and perspective under which this study was conducted. It will then explain the process and justification behind the data collection. It will also introduce the Leximancer and NVivo software used in the preliminary analysis and will explain the process for conducting the framing analysis used to produce this study's findings. Finally, the next chapter will discuss the limitations and challenges of this methodology.

3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the research methodology used to answer the research questions presented in Chapter One. First, the chapter discusses the paradigm and perspective under which this research has been conducted. The next section will discuss the process of and justification for the data collection, followed by the process used for a pre-analysis of the data. Finally, this chapter covers the development and administration of the research method used for analysis.

3.1 PARADIGM

A paradigm is a term “used to describe a cluster of beliefs and dictates that for scientists in particular disciplines influence what should be studied, how research should be done, and how results should be interpreted” (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p.726). Paradigms provide a coherent set of assumptions about the nature of reality, how researchers can come to know more about this reality and the particular methods they can use that are consistent with these assumptions. They are used as a way of thinking about knowing and how we come to know and can be broadly grouped into three types: Positivist, Interpretivist and Critical.

The positivist perspective is very theory driven; the researcher derives a theory about a phenomenon from the literature and uses this to direct data collection that can be used to test this theory. Positivism is an epistemological position that supports the application of the natural sciences approaches to the study of social reality (Bryman & Bell, 2015). The interpretivist perspective, in contrast, is question driven and a theory is produced as a result of the analysis. Interpretivism is an epistemological position that involves social scientists exploring the subjectivity that they believe lies behind social action. They assume either a social constructionist or nominal position in order to account for this subjectivity (Miller, 2005). Whilst working under the interpretivist perspective, the researcher uses an inductive approach. Inductive research involves “theory being developed in a ‘data-driven manner’ using qualitative data, often taking a grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 1990; Cooney, 2010; Hunter, Murphy, Grealish, Casey & Keady, 2011). The theory that emerges from inductive research is understood as ‘a set of propositional statements linking the key concepts in the theory to one another’” (Bryman & Bell, 2015, p.26).

The critical perspective takes a more critical view and assumes that power and domination are important in shaping reality. Although the ontological position of critical researchers can vary (Miller, 2005, p. 71), they typically assume that power and inequality are somehow going to explain what's going on. The critical perspective is strongly influenced by scholars who have taken a realist epistemology that claims the study of the social world should be explained in terms of the structures that generate that world (e.g., Karl Marx) but most contemporary critical theorists take a more subjective position (e.g., Anthony Giddens) (Miller, 2005, p. 71). Critical practitioners aim to identify the structures that shape reality so they can change them (Bryman & Bell, 2015).

Like interpretive research, critical research can be conducted from a social constructionist perspective. Chen, Shek & Bu (2011) state that when attempting to understand the social world, social constructionists see knowledge as constructed rather than created. Hacking (1999) is a leading academic in social construction and has tried to establish what the issue is, to clarify what is happening in different social constructionist projects. Hacking (1999) suggests that most social constructionists, relating to different fields of research, are concerned with the following project:

Social constructionists studying about X often embrace that:

1. X did not need to exist, or did not need to be as it is. X, or X in its present state, is not created by the nature of things; it is not foreseeable.

Often they further urge that:

2. X is bad left how it is.
3. We would be better off if X were taken away, or at least radically changed.

There are many examples of research that focuses on the social construction of news stories and scandals (e.g., Blackwell, 1991; Boden, Williams, Seale, Lowe & Steinberg, 2008; Shapiro, 198). A typical study is one conducted by Coleman and Corbitt (2003). This examined how news content stigmatises mental illness through the social construction of depression in the United States. The study examined news content over a 16-month period and found that in the majority of news stories suicide and violence were mentioned, a practice

that could endorse stigma. It also found that although the mentally ill were not necessarily degraded by the use of labels, such as, crazy, they did receive blame for their illness, with little responsibility and blame placed on community, culture, or society.

Social construction originated alongside the interpretivist paradigm, sharing common philosophical roots (Chen, Skek & Bu, 2011). Miller (2005) explains that interpretive researchers can take a nominalist position that assumes the world is made up just of names and labels or a less subjective view and see it as an intersubjective construction (i.e., a social construction. This construction, according to many social constructionists, is then reified and treated as an objective reality). According to Miller (2005, p. 57) most interpretive theorists in communication do not accept this objectification, choosing instead to espouse a social constructionist ontology.

In this Masters research I adopted an interpretivist perspective and took a social constructivist ontological position to explore how the media, together with the company, socially constructed the Volkswagen emissions scandal. Furthermore, this research employed a framing analysis in order to understand how this social construction occurred. Therefore this research was conducted from a social constructivist viewpoint.

3.1.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR PARADIGM AND PERSPECTIVE

Interpretive theory considers there is no absolute reality (Tracy, 2012), only people's interpretations. It recognises that the researchers are not objective outsiders reporting on reality. They are as much a part of the research as those whose interpretations they study. For example, the researcher chooses which databases and publications will be examined and these choices determine which data get analysed and thus the findings that emerge. Tracy (2012) notes that, "... , both reality and knowledge are constructed and reproduced through interaction and practice. Knowledge about reality is therefore always mediated through the researcher (p. 40)."

As noted earlier in this chapter, interpretive research uses an inductive methodology so operating under this paradigm allows the researcher to conduct exploratory research, where they are not actively looking to fit the research into a preconceived framework, but rather allows a theoretical framework to emerge from the analysis of the interpretations of their

subjects. Additionally, when a social constructivism ontological perspective is employed it focuses the researcher on the collaborative nature of reality and how it is constructed through communicative interaction (Miller, 2005), producing multiple realities and thus not rejecting the existence of an absolute truth. Rather interpretive theory sees truth as constructed in the way people interpret things. In this study, I was interested in understanding the interpretations of the media and Volkswagen so the research was conducted using an interpretive approach that embraces this social constructionist perspective. This paradigm and perspective were appropriate because newspaper and web-based company texts and the ways these interpret reality and present their stories are unquestionably subjective and the product of social processes. Furthermore, each corporate scandal emerges from its own unique circumstances so an inductive methodology allowed this uniqueness, rather than the patterns that have emerged in previous studies, to be reflected in the data collection, analysis and findings.

3.2 VOLKSWAGEN EMISSION SCANDAL TIMELINE

The Volkswagen Emission Scandal Timeline, presented in Chapter Four, Figure 4.6, was created using a composite narrative method as a way of uncovering connected messages across numerous texts (Kuypers, Young & Launer, 2001). It was produced using multiple cross-checked sources. I collected publications of timelines that had already been established, using a Google web search. The keyword combinations consisted of ‘Volkswagen emission scandal timeline’, ‘emission scandal timeline’, ‘Volkswagen emissions scandal progression’, and ‘Volkswagen emissions scandal timeline of events’.

The timelines were combined to create one large composite timeline of events that captured the unfolding scandal story. Events were placed into this timeline in chronological order allowing the reader to understand the order of events. Further publications were added into the timeline during data collection as explained in the next section. These additional publications consisted of media reports and company communications explaining key events.

3.2.1 JUSTIFICATION FOR VOLKSWAGEN EMISSIONS SCANDAL TIMELINE

Figure 4.6 was created to appreciate the story of the scandal – the sequence of events, characters, contributing contextual factors and severity. It provides the reader with a brief overview of the scandal’s events in chronological order. It also allows the reader to obtain

added information about the scandal that was not covered in media reporting and company communications. Already established timelines were used to create the timeline because of time restraints. Creating a timeline of events from scratch would have been too time-consuming; the time better invested in data collection and analysis.

In a study Wertz, Nosek, McNiesh and Marlow (2011), focusing on composite narratives in terms of individuals, the authors explain that their ultimate reasoning for using a composite narrative method was to bring together various versions of a story in a way that was manageable and easy to appreciate. Although this study uses timelines rather than personal stories to produce a composite narrative, the reasoning used by Wetz et al. (2011) is shared. The timeline (story) was created to make a manageable version of the scandal for the researcher (and readers).

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

Data for this research comprised newspaper articles and Volkswagen company communications. The next sections describe how the data were sourced.

3.3.2 COMPANY COMMUNICATION SELECTION

In addition to the collection of newspaper articles, 71 company communications, press releases and reports were also collected via The Volkswagen Group's company websites, and a Google web search using combinations of key words. These key words included 'Volkswagen', 'VW', 'emissions', 'scandal', 'admits', 'states', 'chief', 'Matthias Müller', 'Martin Winterkorn', 'group', 'statement', and 'supervisory'.

3.3.3 CHOSEN TIME PERIOD FOR DATA COLLECTION

Data for this research was selected from September 2015 to September 2016. This period was chosen because it spanned the scandal's discovery by the United States Environmental Protection Agency to its development over a year. This year-long period was chosen because it represented the period of emergence and (to date) greatest media activity. In the initial stages of the research, a six-month time period was chosen because that period saw a high level of media activity and the likelihood of a decay of information as people started to lose

interest was low. However, during data collection the story was still making headlines by the end the six-months, with no signs of the scandal subsiding. There was clear evidence that media activity would continue to be high. For example, a statement from Volkswagen's CEO on the 23 November 2015 stated that the investigation could take months (Cremer, 2015). Furthermore, settlements didn't start until June 2016 when Volkswagen agreed to pay \$14.7 billion to settle claims (Tabuchi & Ewing, 2016d).

3.3.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR DATA COLLECTION

For the purpose of this study, print media in the form of newspapers have been chosen because they are not only accessible but also easily traceable, whereas other types of media, such as Facebook, do not have a structured archive database available. Additionally, newspapers still have enormous influence with a widespread impact on the public, as evidenced by their distribution numbers and because their content forms a large proportion of what is shared on social media platforms. Newspapers were also selected because of their search availability. Using print media websites and databases allowed the researcher to use search functions to access articles using different keywords, thus creating an opportunity to access news stories that may have had alternative headlines. Furthermore, accessing print media is less time consuming and, in the case of a multi-national study, more feasible than gathering data using techniques requiring personal interaction (e.g., interviews and focus groups). As the print-based data are available in digital form, collecting and compiling data for analyses were also time efficient.

The seven newspapers were selected because they have the highest status for their country on the 'Top 200 Newspapers in the world 2016' list (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016) and they are from regions in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015), thus allowing the research to establish frames in the countries that were predominantly impacted by the scandal.

3.4 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

The analysis was conducted in two stages. First a preliminary analysis was conducted. This was designed to alert the researcher to concepts used in the media reports and company texts in a way that minimised the influence of her preconceived notions about the Volkswagen

emissions scandal and focused attention on concepts that were likely to be part of the framing of the scandal. It also allowed the overall story of the scandal (to that point) to be identified. The second stage was the primary focus of the investigation. This involved a frame analysis of reports in a selection of national newspapers in Volkswagen's main markets and the company communications in relation to the scandal. The rest of this section (3.4) describes the software tools used in the preliminary analysis and the analyses that were undertaken using these tools.

3.4.1 LEXIMANCER SOFTWARE

Leximancer software was used to produce concept maps of the titles of 786 articles from the seven selected newspapers, as well as the titles from Volkswagen's company communications. These concept maps are presented in Chapter Five as Figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9. The Leximancer software produces visual maps that show the overall cumulative impact of the text. Therefore each map is not producing insights into any one headline or even typical headlines; it is producing insights into the cumulative overall text. Each individual newspaper's titles and the company communication titles were uploaded as separate files into the Leximancer software. This ensured each concept map produced distinct results that were used to compare and contrast each other.

Leximancer is a useful tool that allows the researcher to work more inductively and be less dependent on predetermined frames or other textual categories than when working with only qualitative tools. When a researcher is attempting to uncover important factors in textual data, specifically when the researcher does not have a prior set of factors with which to analyse the data, Leximancer has been developed to recognise concepts and interrelationships without the need for researcher intervention. The software produces visually attractive presentations of key concepts and themes, highlighting semantic relationships, their proximity and importance (Sotiriadou, Brouwers & Le, 2014).

Leximancer applies a form of automatic content analysis. A sample of text is examined to select a classified list of important verbal terms. This is achieved through word frequency and co-occurrence usage. These verbal terms are then built using a thesaurus, which extends the word definitions by learning a set of classifiers from the text sample. The resulting term classifiers are then identified as concepts. Following this, the text is classified using these concepts at high resolution (the tagging of concepts within the sentence blocks), usually

every three sentences. “Leximancer uses its patented algorithm to rank the concepts by connectedness (summed co-occurrence with all other concepts). The algorithm then starts at the top of the ranking and creates a theme group centered on the top concept. It then goes to next ranked concept and either: If the next concept is near enough to any other theme group centroid on the map, join nearest theme and adjust centroid of that theme, or, start a new theme group centered on that concept.” [sic] (Leximancer, 2017, p. 1). This algorithm is used to create a two-dimensional concept map. Additionally, a semantic network connects each concept that, in turn, generates a third dimension. This third dimension highlights the common parent concepts at higher levels. Leximancer is designed to ensure the researcher is aware of the global significance and context of concepts. It is designed to avoid fixation on specific circumstantial evidence that might be uncommon or inaccurate (Smith & Humphreys, 2006). Table 3.1 highlights the strengths and weakness of Leximancer. This table was adapted from the work of Isakhan (2005), Hansson, Carey and Kjartansson (2010) and Jones and Diment (2010).

Table 3.1 Strengths and weaknesses of Leximancer software

<i>Strengths</i>	<i>Weaknesses</i>
Suitable for predictive and exploratory research	Text analysis only
Suitable for large data samples	Unable to capture the implied style and tone of the text
Quickly identifies concepts	Findings may contain unexplainable or unexpected relationships or concepts
Researcher bias coder subjectivity is removed, allowing for objective data analysis	The researchers skill in interpretation is suppressed
Minimal manual intervention from the researcher producing reliable results	Some concepts emerge strongly where they are represented by narrow vocabulary

The Leximancer concept maps produced were used as a preliminary, exploratory tool to get a sense of the words that had the potential to guide the researcher in the identification of frames during analysis. These maps were used to identify relationships between commonly occurring words within the titles of both media news reports and company communications, allowing the researcher to establish an initial overview of the scandal.

3.4.2 WORD FREQUENCIES

NVivo was employed to execute a word frequency query for the titles of 786 articles from the seven selected newspapers, as well as the titles from Volkswagen’s company

communications. This resulting table is presented in Chapter Five as Table 5-1. The 10 most frequent words (i.e., top 10) for each newspaper, as well as the top 10 words for Volkswagen company communications were selected for analysis. NVivo has two alternative displays of output for this query, a standard list of words and their frequency within a selected document, and a 'tag cloud' whereby words are alphabetised with a font size relative to their frequency. For the purpose of this research, a preliminary analysis that produced a standard list of words and their frequencies was chosen to orient the researcher for subsequent frame analyses (CAQDAS Networking Project, 2017b).

Not all of the results NVivo produces in its word frequency queries are seen as meaningful signs for useful concepts. For example, the words 'over', and 'for', found in many articles' titles, are used in numerous different ways that mean they do not contribute in any consistent manner to specific thematic code. This meant that judgement had to be exercised when analysing to ensure quality information was produced. Exclusion of grammatical and other trivial words was achieved through the application of Nvivo's 'stop list'. This list directs NVivo to exclude words so that a more refined list of frequencies can be produced (CAQDAS Networking Project, 2017a).

The word frequency table produced in this research was also used as a preliminary, exploratory tool to get a sense of the words that had the potential to guide the researcher in the identification of frames during the frame analysis. This table provided the researcher with an understanding of the most common words used within the headlines of the media reports and the titles of company's communications. Presenting the data in a comparative table provided insights into the similarities and differences in the language used by each newspaper and the company.

3.4.3 ESTABLISHING THE STORY

Another part of the preliminary analysis was establishing the story through both the media's reporting and Volkswagen's company communications. This was achieved through the creation of a comparative table that identified individual events, times and frequencies in each newspaper as well as Volkswagen that were used to tell the emissions scandal story.

The process to prepare this comparative table first involved identifying the stories/events in *The Guardian*'s 165 articles that related to the Volkswagen emissions scandal. *The Guardian* was selected as the first newspaper to examine because it had the earliest and largest number of articles apart from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which was still being translated. As an event surfaced it was placed in the left hand column of the table, the event was given an occurrence date or frequency for a number of occurrences throughout the story, as well as the date and description of the first occurrence. This process continued until every event from that particular newspaper was presented in the table. The next newspaper, *The New York Times*, with 151 articles, was compared with the events in *The Guardian*, if the newspaper reported about the same event then the same process was completed. If the newspaper did not report that event it was clearly stated in the table. Once every event was matched with *The Guardian*, new events that only *The New York Times* reported were added into the table for the next comparison.

This process continued with the remaining 470 articles from *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and company communications from Volkswagen. Events were compared against each other and new events were added, eventually producing a comprehensive comparative table of the events, dates, frequencies and examples. This table was used during the framing analysis to provide examples and compare patterns within and across newspapers and between newspapers and the Volkswagen text.

3.3.1 NEWSPAPER SELECTION

Initially, 932 newspaper articles were systematically collected using a print media database called Factiva, the chosen newspapers' company website and a Google search using key words. The key words used to locate relevant articles were a combination of 'Volkswagen', 'VW', 'emissions', 'scandal', 'crisis', 'diesel' and 'cars', as well as their synonyms, which ensured a comprehensive search. After a review of the articles exposed duplicates and some with irrelevant information, the total number of articles decreased to 786, creating a final working sample for analysis.

Although the term 'print media' is associated with a physical version of media, the researcher acknowledges that print media can be a digital manifestation of the physical

version, although this difference had no observable effect on the data gathered. The newspapers chosen for this study's sample frame were *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Two of the chosen newspapers, *O GLOBO* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, are non-English newspapers. To ensure an adequate representation of the story, the articles collected from these newspapers were translated by native speakers.

3.4.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

This study conducted a preliminary analysis of newspaper titles so I could gain an initial understanding of potential frames that might be identified in the framing analysis, as well to appreciate the common language and language relationships prevalent in mass communication. Leximancer was chosen because it was judged to be suitable software for this type of exploratory analysis; it was suitable for a large data sample (786 newspaper and company communication headlines/titles), it quickly identified concepts, was more time efficient than producing concept maps manually, and ensured this researcher did not impose her conceptual preferences on this formative analysis.

The NVivo software was chosen because it is a simple effective software tool previously used to undertake textual coding and produce coding frequencies. It offered an appropriate, powerful, familiar and time efficient tool for working with large amounts of textual data.

The comparative table comparing the content of articles from the (newspaper) media and Volkswagen was created to view a lot of data and see how it came together to construct the emergent story. The table also allowed the researcher to effectively undertake a comparison of both the media's and company's perspectives over time and across countries. This was important because the study sought to appreciate both temporal and national effects.

3.5 FRAMING ANALYSIS

This study applied framing theory. Framing theory incorporates both sociological (Entman, 1991; Feng et al., 2012; Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman, 1974) and psychological insights (Domke et al., 1998; Iyengar, 1991; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984). Chong & Druckman (2007, p. 106) say that framing research refers to “frames in

communication’’ and that this type of research focuses on the ‘‘words, images, phrases, and presentation styles’’ (Druckman, 2001, p. 227) that are used to create news stories as well as the processes that shape their creation.

The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and can be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations (Chong & Druckman, 2007). By highlighting some considerations and not others, audiences can be influenced in terms of what issues they do (and don’t) think about and how to interpret these issues (Scheufele, 2000). In this way, those who write public texts can determine community and societal agendas (Miller, 2005). Different disciplines use framing for different purposes (e.g., political science, psychology, media studies, and communication). In media and corporate communication studies, framing analysis is an important analysis tool because it can be used to reveal frames that socially construct scandals and shape how they develop and are responded to. This is emphasised in Gitlin’s (1980) paper, as well as the current framing research on the Volkswagen emissions scandal conducted by Abdellah (2016), Mesch (2016), Mitev (2016) and Van Der Meer (2016).

As this study was particularly interested in how newspaper media and Volkswagen’s public communications influenced the construction and development of the emissions scandal, a framing analysis along the lines used in media studies, e.g. Entman’s (1991) renowned study of media communication comparing United States media framing of an Iranian airplane that was gunned down by the United States against a story about a Korean airplane that was taken down by the Soviet Union, and corporate communication, e.g., the framing study of the BP Oil Spill crisis examining the agenda and differences between the frames produced by BP and the media conducted by Schultz et al. (2012), was the obvious and most appropriate analysis tool to employ.

As stated previous chapters, for the purpose of this study, working definitions were created. Framing was defined as the process whereby writers assemble a narrative to shape the meaning of a subject, raise the salience of particular ideas, reduce the complexity of an issue and encourage target audiences to think, feel and act in a certain way. A ‘frame’ was defined as a pattern of cognition through the selection of mental structures that are organised to stimulate problem definition, sense-making and interpretation of a perceived reality (Entman, 1993; Fairhurst, 2010; Gamson, 1989; Gitlin, 1980).

This study employed framing analysis to answer the three research questions presented in Chapter One: What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions?, How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets?, and How does crisis framing change over a scandal? Frame analysis is used to illustrate and engage arguments and counter arguments to make sense of complex societal and contextual issues. The main idea of a framing analysis is to understand how particular ideas are linked together to form meaning. It is an analytical tool designed to distinguish multiple viewpoints as the object of inquiry (Creed, Langstraat & Scully, 2002).

The overall procedure for this framing analysis was based on a comprehensive description of how to conduct a frame analysis provided by the University of Vermont (2009) entitled 'How to do a frame analysis of news media'. The procedure used involved recognising recurring patterns in news coverage by: reading news coverage focussing on a specific headings or themes, looking at forms of selection including headings, looking at specific themes, for example, what seems to be the source of the conflict, identifying stylistic signs such as language selections and considering other ways the significant facts could be devolved into stories. The analysis also involved explaining the fundamental assumptions that were identified in the frames, what details the frames have chosen to leave out and what they suggest were important. This procedure involved understanding similarities and differences in terminology, focusing on what, when and how events transpire and in what context (Hansen, 1998).

The most influential sources this research referred to when conducting the framing analysis were studies conducted by Abdellah (2016), Entman (1991), Gitlin (1980), Mesch (2016), Mitev (2016), Schultz et al. (2012) and Van Der Meer (2016). These studies provided theoretical insights into the framing analysis of both media and corporate communications, as well as examples of previous scandals, including the Volkswagen emissions scandal.

3.5.1 FRAME IDENTIFICATION

To identify the frames used to tell the scandal story, another eight tables were established; each table represents an individual newspaper or the company's communication. The process

for producing these tables involved systematically recording the content of each individual article into particular cells. First, the article's date, author(s) and title were recorded. This was followed by recording the voices that entered the story, whether they were an outside country, company or individual. Next, the frame(s) used in each article were identified, followed by an example used to illustrate the frame(s). These eight tables were used in conjunction with a comparative table of frames used throughout the story and a comparative table establishing the Volkswagen emissions scandal story. These tables were used to answer the three questions presented in Chapter One.

Frames were identified by looking for key words in the stories and their headlines/titles, actions or emotions that could be used to establish a frame. For example, on the 20 September 2015, *The Guardian* published an article with the title 'VW software scandal: Chief apologises for breaking public trust' by identifying the word 'apologies' the researcher produced the 'apologetic frame' (Rushe, 2015c).

3.5.2 FRAMING DEFINITIONS

For ease of readability and to better understand the findings presented in this study, a table of framing definitions was established (see Appendix 10.1). As stated in the section above, frames were identified by looking for keywords in the stories/title, actions or emotions that could be used to establish a frame. Once frames were identified, definitions were set for each and presented in a clear, easily understood table as a reference for Chapter Five (Results) in this research.

Following from the example given in the previous section, identification of the 'apologetic frame', the next step was to define what the frame meant. Thus the researcher defined the frame as: 'either an individual or a company apologises for their actions'. This process was repeated for all frames identified.

3.5.3 OVERALL FRAMING

An examination of the media's framing across all newspaper articles collected in this study was conducted to give an overall impression of how these media reported the Volkswagen emissions scandal. This was achieved by examining the eight individual newspaper and company's communication tables, the comparative table of frames used throughout the story

and a comparative table establishing the Volkswagen emissions scandal story. Examining the frequency of frames helped the researcher to identify the main frames that used compared with the frames that didn't get used very often. In addition, an examination of the voices entering/exiting the story revealed who was involved, who the authoritative voices were, and who was being held accountable for the scandal. Furthermore, examining dates and events helped identify how framing changed over time. Ultimately, the frame and associated 'voice analysis' allowed the following research questions to be answered: "What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions?" and "How does crisis framing change over a scandal?"

3.5.4 NATIONAL FRAMING

The process to examine national framing was to first look nationally at the newspapers from the main Volkswagen markets to see if these parallel or differ from the overall story and how it was framed. This was achieved by examining the eight individual newspaper and company's communication tables, the comparative table of frames used throughout the story and a comparative table establishing the Volkswagen emissions scandal story. Similarities and differences were identified by examining the stage at which new frames were introduced, new voices introduced frames, the persistence of a frame or the frequency of reporting. This allowed the researcher to answer the following research question: "How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets?"

3.5.5 COMPANY FRAMING

This part of the analysis focussed on the company's reporting and how this engaged with (or ignored) the newspaper reporting, particularly the frames in the newspapers' reports. This was achieved by examining the eight individual newspaper and company's communication tables, the comparative table of frames used throughout the story and a comparative table establishing the Volkswagen emissions scandal story. The analysis focused on Volkswagen's online textual communications with both stakeholders and shareholders and how it framed the company's behaviour associated with the scandal in communications. The examination of the frames employed in Volkswagen's texts was necessary to fully answer the following research question: "What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions?"

3.5.6 JUSTIFICATION FOR CONDUCTING A FRAMING ANALYSIS

A framing analysis was chosen for this study because this sort of analysis looks for key themes inside text. It also shows how cultural themes form our understanding of events. Conducting a framing analysis involving the media highlights how the structure of stories and the language used place emphasis on particular aspects as well as neglecting others (Economic and Social Research Council, 2016). Therefore this method aligns with the research aims.

Other methods, such as a content analysis, which was used in the preliminary analysis aided by Leximancer, were not chosen as the main method to examine the media and company's interpretations because such methods can only offer a view of the elements present in the data. Content analysis involves identifying words and their frequencies in text and also which words appear together (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This method would not allow examination of meanings embedded in text, which is what this study required.

3.6 LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

As with any research study, there are limitations and challenges. During the study, the researcher faced four main challenges that potentially could limit data collection and analysis. First, in the preliminary stages, the researcher faced technology-based difficulties and lost an undefined portion of the data. These data had to be re-collected, resulting in valuable time being lost. After that episode, data were always backed up on external devices, clearly labelled, colour coded and organised into folders, limiting the possibility of losing data.

Secondly, the researcher acknowledges that the scandal is ongoing, so it was simply not possible to study the entire life cycle of the scandal. The impact of this limitation was overcome by accepting a cut-off point for data collection that fitted the time and financial resources of the researcher and the study's duration. A substantial database was produced that was judged to be adequate to meet the objectives of the study within the defined timeframe.

Thirdly, a selection of possible newspapers that could have been studied had to be made that limited the comprehensiveness of the study. The papers selected were chosen using three

criteria: the country was a major Volkswagen market, the newspaper had the highest or very high national readership, and it was digitally accessible.

Fourthly, since two newspapers used in this research are from non-English speaking countries, the articles had to be translated. The financial cost of translation and the time taken to translate these articles imposed limits on data collection. To ensure these limits did not constrain the quality of the analysis, the decision to have a cut-off for data collection (mentioned above) was taken.

Fifthly, a few articles collected from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* did not provide sufficient information. The content of these articles had been cut because of constraints, such as monetary limitations, in accessing the newspaper's website. Instead of disregarding these articles, their headlines and what little information was provided were still used to ensure a more thorough analysis.

3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has explained the interpretive paradigm and social constructionist perspective this research that informed this research. This chapter has also explained the process and justification for the Volkswagen emissions scandal timeline of events presented in Chapter Four. This chapter highlights the process of, and explains the justification for this study's data collection, which encompassed 786 articles from *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO* *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and Volkswagen's website. This chapter explains the process for constructing Leximancer concept maps, a word frequency table and a table establishing the scandal's story. These were done to provide the researcher with an initial overview of salient aspects of the scandal. This chapter then explains how framing analysis was conducted. This analysis was chosen to reveal the structure of the newspaper stories and company texts and the way the language they used placed emphasis on particular aspects, as well as neglecting others (Economic and Social Research Council, 2016). Finally, this chapter discussed the challenges and limitations faced over the duration of this research and how these were overcome.

The next chapter presents a brief history of Volkswagen and the emissions scandal in which it is embroiled, which are the focus of this study, along with insights into the

company's reputation before the scandal broke. It also presents an overview of the events that transpired during the emissions scandal in the form of a chronological timeline.

4 VOLKSWAGEN

This chapter uses the literature to profile Volkswagen, explaining the history of the company including its pre-scandal reputation. This chapter then presents a timeline of the events that shaped the Volkswagen emissions scandal.

4.1 COMPANY HISTORY AND PROFILE

In 1904, engineers believed that the future of automobiles lay in the mass production of smaller inexpensive cars, therefore talk of a ‘volkswagen’ (people’s car) began in Germany. On January 17, 1934, Ferdinand Porsche submitted a “Memorandum on the construction of a German People’s Car” to the Reich Ministry of Transport. This document outlined a proposal for a “fully practical vehicle” allowing for four adults, “of normal size but relatively light weight”. This vehicle would adhere to the recently established autobahn network speed of 100 kilometres per hour. Because of Porsche’s technical reputation, including multiple motorsport victories, his idea was seized by Adolf Hitler. This initiated the German Automotive Industry’s “communal project” of the first “German people’s car” from 1934-1937 (Volkswagen AG, 2015b, p. 7). **Error! Reference source not found.** shows the VW3 Prototype and Volkswagen’s first vehicle concept and **Error! Reference source not found.** shows Ferdinand Porsche, the man behind the first Volkswagen vehicle design (Volkswagen AG, 2015b, p.7).



Figure 4.1: VW3 Prototype

Figure 4.2: Ferdinand Porsche

From 1945-1949, Volkswagen was the largest and most important employer in Germany. The company provided work, housing and food for the survival of the local population. This was seen as an opportunity for the British Military Government as it took over the administration of the company in trusteeship in June 1945. After the British Military Government assumed the responsibilities of a conquering force, its transport needs increased, especially because the war reduced its military vehicle numbers. Volkswagen, operating under the British, became the beneficiary as the Military Government provided the necessary credit for the continuation of production and its use of power allowed Volkswagen to overcome many obstacles (Volkswagen AG, 2008) and continue to produce vehicles.

From 1950-1960, Volkswagen was considered an economic miracle in West Germany. Just like the Volkswagen Beetle, the company's success was the result of a noticeable profile and constant improvements in engineering. With the combination of mass production, the integration of their workforce and a global market orientation, Volkswagen was able to create a sustainable long-term growth strategy. In 1950, Volkswagen doubled its export of vehicles into different countries from the previous year. This meant that Volkswagen was exporting vehicles into 18 countries, mostly in Europe, including Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands. As a result of exporting 1,253 vehicles into Brazil, South America became an important company focus. During the 1950s, Volkswagen became the leading German automobile exporter and the most important foreign currency earner as the company often contributed 50 percent of Germany's automobile exports (Volkswagen AG, 2008).

From 1961-1972, Volkswagen reached a leading position in Europe through the successful mass production of the VW Beetle and the thriving export business. In 1964, the company produced double the number of automobiles compared with the end of the 1950s, this was the result of more efficient production. In the German market, Volkswagen comprised almost 33 percent of the passenger car market and contributed over half of newly registered vans. In the early 1960s, Volkswagen successfully shifted from a seller's market to a buyer's market, without any negative impact on its sales. This was through the addition of the VW 1500 to the company's product range and the company's growing presence in international markets (Volkswagen AG, 2008).

Chapter 4- VOLKSWAGEN

From 1973-1981 Volkswagen released a new generation of vehicles that helped the company overcome the 1974-1975 oil crisis as well as the global recession; both had a negative impact on the company's liquidity. After the company's successful Beetle sales and the positive response they received for its Passat model, Volkswagen's Golf model held the leading position for new car registrations in Germany in 1975 and improved the demand for automobiles on the domestic market.

While other manufacturers' sales declined by up to 40 percent in the early 1970s, Volkswagen managed to stabilise its figures from the previous year. Most of Volkswagen's financial problems came from a decrease in exports to North America and Europe. In 1976, Volkswagen's sales increased by 15 percent and the company survived the crisis. Between 1973 and 1976, Volkswagen's American sales decreased from 540,364 vehicles to 238,187; Volkswagen's market share decreased by half to 2.3 percent. This drastic drop made Volkswagen realise that to maintain the company's position in the United States it would have to produce its cars there. Soon, Volkswagen's production for the North American market in its Westmoreland plant began in April 1978 and it was able to increase its American sales by 22 percent. With an additional 13 percent rise in 1979, Volkswagen's United States subsidiary reported an additional rise of Volkswagen and Audi models from 337,000 to 368,000 vehicles. Furthermore, Volkswagen benefited from extremely high oil prices since there was a higher demand for low consumption vehicles (Volkswagen, 2008).

From 1982-1991, as the global automobile industry experienced structural changes, the Volkswagen Group flourished into a multi-brand coalition with a global production network. In the 1980s, Volkswagen embraced opportunities within European and Asian markets. In 1982, Volkswagen signed a contract with the Shanghai Tractor and Automobile Corporation. This assembly contract introduced what would be a very successful German-Chinese enterprise. The establishment of this new venture, known as "Volkswagen Shanghai Automotive Company Ltd.", began in 1985. This was also the start of production of the Volkswagen model, the Santana. In 1982, the export business improved and the group's revenue increased with 619,000 vehicles being sold, an improvement on the previous year's figures. Over 100,000 vehicles were sold in Great Britain, France and Italy, allowing these countries to become leading Volkswagen customers. In Spain in 1982, the sales of Volkswagens and Audis increased from 2,379 vehicles to 28,667. In 1985, with a sales

increase of 24 percent and almost 760,000 vehicles sold, the Volkswagen group took the leading market position for overall automotive producer in Europe (Volkswagen, 2008).

More recently, in order to survive the global recession of 1992-1993, the Volkswagen Group initiated a strategic change. Volkswagen focused on product diversity as well as increasing earnings power and productivity. The Group linked modernization with globalization to establish more effective production sites, reshape the functional division of labour and redesign the global production network. Lean production (Krafcik, 1998; Murman, E., Allen, T., Bozdogan, K., Cutcher-Gershenfeld, J., McManus, H., Nightingale, D., Rebentisch, E., Shields, T., Stahl, F., Walton, M., Warmkessel, J., Weiss, S., Widnall, S., 2002; Shah & Ward, 2007) could be seen throughout the Volkswagen's factories built in the 1990s. Both the Seat plant in Spain and the Mosel plant in Germany were organised to resemble Japanese plants; production procedures were systematically improved with the introduction of new models throughout existing plants. At the end of 2001, Volkswagen introduced the Phaeton as a top-tier car. A year later, the company successfully moved into two new market segments after launching the Touareg and the Touran, a top-class SUV and a compact van. In 2007, Martin Winterkorn, the new Chairman of the Board of Management, stated that the restructuring of the Volkswagen brand was a prerequisite for the company's growth. Volkswagen was set to become by 2018 the world's most innovative automotive manufacturing brand with the highest sales (Volkswagen AG, 2008).

Volkswagen was first known as 'Volkswagen Works Limited'. The Volkswagen works operated as a state company after the British force withdrew from Germany in 1949. In 1960, the company was partially privatised, becoming a stock corporation (AG). This resulted in 40 percent of the shares being held by state institutions, 20 percent by the state of Lower Saxony, 20 percent by the German Federal Government and the remaining 10 percent spread over banks, insurance companies and private shareholders, some of whom were Volkswagen employees. As a result, the supervisory board, the group of individuals responsible for determining personnel selection for the executive board and the long term strategies for the company, were dominated by government representatives. Among these government representatives were the ministers of economic affairs and of finance and often the minister of social and labour affairs. In the 1970s, when the Federal Republic and Lower Saxony were governed by social democrats and since the 1990s until today, state and union representatives formed the majority of Volkswagen's supervisory board (Clarke & Chanlat, 2009;

Volkswagen AG, 2015b). German neo-corporatism is often used to describe Volkswagen's governance structure (Clarke & Chanlat, 2009). Volkswagen being governed by social democrats is significant because it highlights that German state is a dominant shareholder in the company. Volkswagen's governance structure is based on the VW Act 1960 that highlights that German government officials are on the company's supervisory board, therefore, they are the main decision makers for the company and they provide guidance for the company's future direction. This act also highlights that German banks involved in the company have to receive authorisation from each shareholder before financial support is granted. Therefore, Volkswagen's financial decisions are made by the German government (Clarke & Chanlat, 2009).

As previously stated, in the early establishment of Volkswagen, the company created a strong market presence in the United States, subsequently the Volkswagen Group of America Inc. was formed. The Volkswagen Group of America Inc. is an exclusively owned subsidiary of Volkswagen Ag. Founded in 1955, with its headquarters in Herndon, Virginia, the company fought to bring attractive, safe and eco-conscious vehicles to the United States. Today, the subsidiary operates out of its manufacturing plant in Chattanooga, Tennessee, producing many of the Group's brands including, Volkswagen, Audi, Lamborghini and Bentley. The company employs approximately 6,000 individuals and sells its vehicles through a network of 1000 Volkswagen dealerships worldwide (Volkswagen Group of America, 2016).

Now, the Volkswagen Group is the largest car manufacturer in Europe and a global leader in manufacturing automobiles and commercial vehicles. The group operates out of 120 production plants within 27 countries around the world. The Group incorporates 12 different subsidiary brands including Volkswagen Passenger Cars, Volkswagen Commercial Vehicles, Bentley, Porsche, Audi, Bugatti, Lamborghini, and Ducati. Additionally, the Volkswagen Group offers a diverse range of financial services including customer financing, leasing and insurance and banking activities (Volkswagen AG, 2017). After being established in Berlin in 1937, the company now operates from its headquarters in Wolfsburg, Germany. According to Volkswagen's annual report, the organisation currently sells its vehicles in over 150 countries worldwide and employs 604,000 people (Volkswagen AG, 2015a).

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Figure 4.3 shows Volkswagen's vehicle production volume from commencement in 1945, producing 1,785 vehicles, to 2015, producing 10,017,000 vehicles.

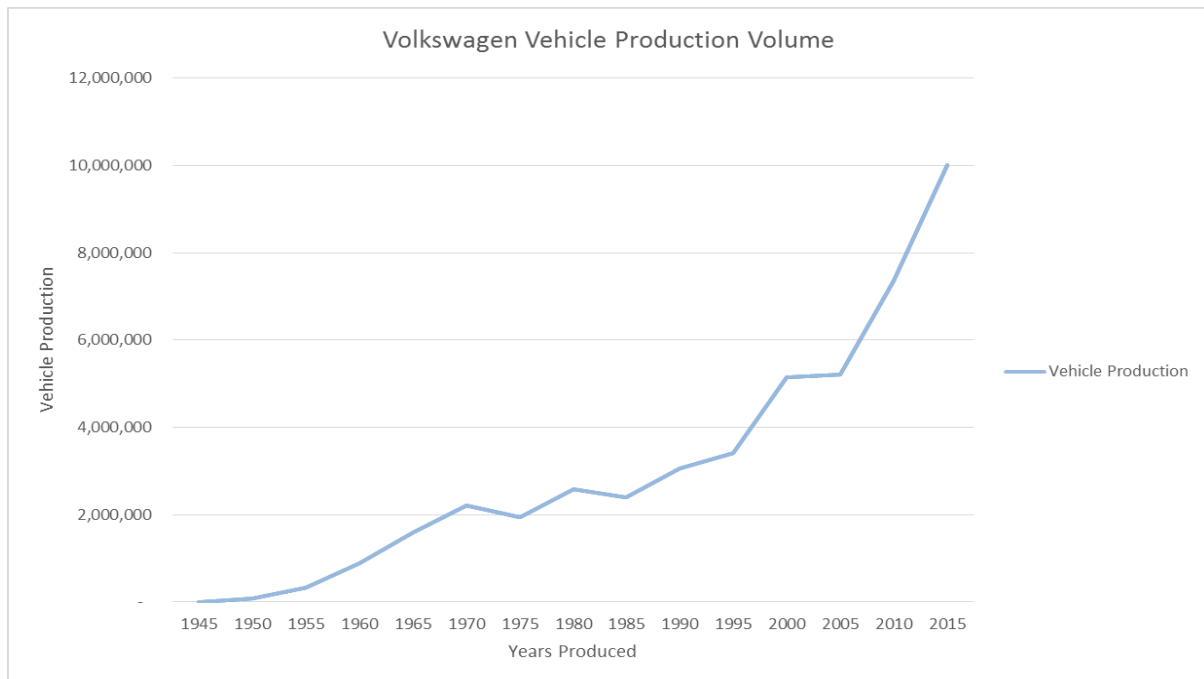


Figure 4.3 Volkswagen vehicle production volume 1945-2015. (Volkswagen AG, 2016, pp. 66-84)

Figure 4.4 shows Volkswagen's revenue from 1945, 11.7 million Reichsmark, to 2015 213,292,000 billion euro.

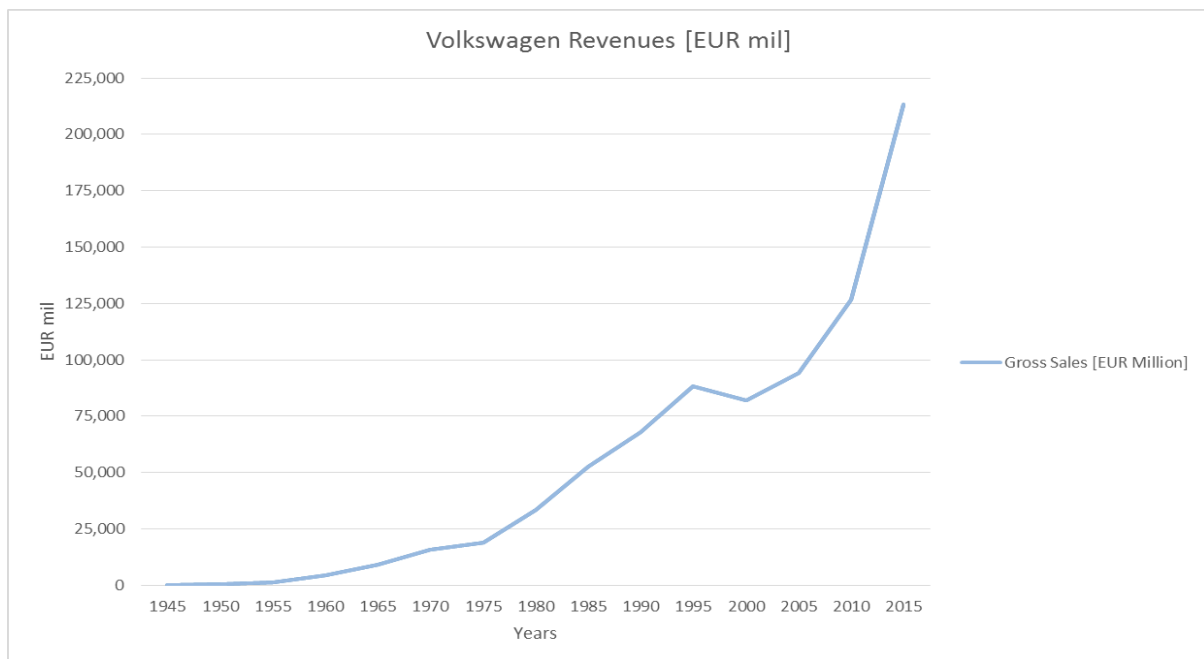


Figure 4.4 Volkswagen revenue 1945 -2015 (eur million) Volkswagen AG (2016, pp. 66-84)

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Figure 4.5 shows the history of Volkswagen employees from 1945, when it employed 1,785 people, to 2015 with 604,000 employees.



Figure 4.5 The history of Volkswagen employees 1945-2015 Volkswagen AG (2016, pp. 66-84)

4.2 COMPANY REPUTATION

Volkswagen was a highly regarded company praised for its sustainable and ethical approaches to business (Rhodes, 2016). Volkswagen took proactive moves towards sustainability in many sectors of its organisation, including supply chain management (Koplin, Seuring & Mesterharm, 2006). An example of this is Volkswagen's action research project the company initiated in January 2003 until August 2014. This project was driven by three Volkswagen staff members from its environment, human resources and purchasing departments and two people from the University of Oldenburg. This project consisted of six internal workshops designed to bring the company's internal actors together to become more sustainable and efficient as a whole (Koplin, Seuring & Mesterharm, 2006).

Another example of Volkswagen being praised for ethical and sustainable business practices was seen at the end of 2012. Volkswagen was named an outstanding corporation and received an Ethics in Business Award from the World Forum for Ethics in Business. Volkswagen received this award because of its commendable efforts in the fields of corporate social responsibility and environmental management (CSR Europe, 2013). Volkswagen was

the face for corporate business ethics in the areas of corporate social responsibility, environmentalism and sustainability. The company was praised for setting “an example of universal values such as integrity, responsibility and respect for people and the environment through its various environmental and health projects” (CSR Europe, 2013).

Volkswagen possessed all assurances that the company was sustainable, environmentally friendly and ethical, it had explicit strategies, awards, corporate programmes, company publications and public commendation (Rhodes, 2016). Another example was seen in 2004 when four of Volkswagen’s brands were named among top 10 most ethical car brands in the world (The top 10 ethical car brands, 2004). In 2011, Volkswagen was praised by the Calvert Sustainability Research Department for being a car manufacturer with exceptional environmental, social, and governance (ESG) practices (Urken, 2011). In 2014, Volkswagen released a statement saying that these practices could be internally organised and managed voluntarily (Rhodes, 2016) ‘a company can only be successful if it acts with integrity, complies with statutory provisions worldwide and stands by its voluntary undertakings and ethical principles’ (Volkswagen, 2014, p. 46).

Volkswagen’s environmental strategy was a crucial part of the company’s corporate business ethics strategy. Publicized as a ‘transparent and responsible management’ grounded on ‘voluntary undertakings and principles’, e.g., company values and codes of conduct, as well as being aligned with the United Nations Global Compact requirements and the International Labour Organisation (Volkswagen, 2014, p. 20). Rhodes (2016) explains that Volkswagen voluntarily displaying acts of ethical behaviour (voluntarism) is a crucial part of corporate business ethics. Roberts (2003) highlights that an organisation’s display of voluntarism shows that it does not need external interference to behave ethically, it is willing to display ethical behaviours on its own accord. In reality, ‘if ethical conduct is to be judged by its consequences, then the prime beneficiary of appearances is the corporation itself’; in this case, appearances would be business ethics (Roberts, 2003, p. 257).

This all changed in September of 2015 when Volkswagen was accused of cheating diesel emissions tests on thousands of vehicles around the world. This contradicted the sustainable, environmentally friendly and ethical behaviours highlighted above, showing that even the

most highly regarded companies can fall from grace. The next section looks more closely at the Volkswagen emissions scandal by providing the reader with an events timeline.

4.3 EMISSIONS SCANDAL TIMELINE

This section explains the Volkswagen emissions scandal through the application of an in-depth timeline of events. This timeline was created by joining already established timelines found through a Google search using keyword combinations. These combinations consisted of 'Volkswagen emission scandal timeline', 'emission scandal timeline', 'Volkswagen emissions scandal progression', and 'Volkswagen emissions scandal timeline of events'. Events were placed into this timeline in chronological order which allows the reader to understand the order of events. Throughout the collection of newspaper articles in this study, key events that were reported through the media and company communications were added to the timeline to create a better overview for the reader. This timeline also allows the reader to obtain additional information about the scandal that was not covered in media reporting and company communications. Figure 4.6 establishes a sense of the scandal's severity, highlighting what happened, who was involved and what were some of the repercussions.

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3 September 2015

In a closed-door talk with the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Volkswagen admitted to the manipulation of diesel-engine emissions. The EPA stated that Volkswagen installed emission cheating software on over 475,000 cars to reduce the nitrogen oxide levels when the cars were put on test machines. This system allowed Volkswagen to produce engines with 10-40 times the amount of nitrogen oxide levels that the EPA permits ("Chronology Volkswagen emissions scandal timeline", 2016).



18 September 2015

The EPA discloses that Volkswagen installed the emissions cheating software which constitutes an Auxiliary Emission Control Device (AECD), ultimately violating the Clean Air Act. The affected cars therefore should not have been EPA certified. Volkswagen now faces up to \$18 billion in fines because the Department of Justice can enforce up to \$37,500 in fines per vehicle (Kollewe, 2015a).



20 September 2015

Volkswagen starts to show remorse and orders an external investigation. At the time the chief executive, Martin Winterkorn, apologises by saying he is "deeply sorry" ("Volkswagen CEO 'deeply sorry' for diesel duping", 2015).



21 September 2015

Volkswagen stops sales of all four-cylinder diesel cars, including the four-cylinder diesel Audi A3, and the sales of pre-owned cars with four-cylinder diesel engines (Cars.com staff, 2016). The German government warned that Volkswagen's emissions scandal will jeopardise the entire country's reputation in the car industry. An example of this is seen in a €15 billion (\$16 billion USD) drop in the Volkswagen share price on the Frankfurt stock exchange (Kollewe, 2015a).



22 September 2015

Volkswagen sets aside \$7.3 billion to cover the costs of the scandal, including investigation costs and expected vehicle recalls. Volkswagen admits 11 million vehicles worldwide have been fitted with defeat devices (Tovey, 2015b). Martin Winterkorn continues to apologise by saying he is "endlessly sorry", however, he states he will not resign. Michael Horn, Volkswagen's United States chief, admits the company "totally screwed up" (Ruddick, Topham, Mathiesen, & Neslen, 2015).



23 September 2015

Volkswagen's chief executive, Martin Winterkorn, resigns. Winterkorn states that "As C.E.O., I accept responsibility for the irregularities that have been found in diesel engines". However, he insists that he is not personally responsible for the misconduct: "I am not aware of any wrongdoing on my part". Winterkorn says his resignation will create a "fresh start" for Volkswagen and he leaves with a €28m pension. The US Justice Department launched criminal investigations and lawsuits have been filed in US and Canada (Ewing, 2015e).



24 September 2015

Germany confirmed that vehicles that were installed with emissions cheating software were sold across Europe (Kollewe, 2015a). The United Kingdom's Department of Transport states it will begin its own inquiry into the emissions cheating scandal; Volkswagen now faces legal claims from British car owners (Wearden & Fletcher, 2015c).



25 September 2015

Volkswagen initiates changes to its top management. Matthias Mueller, the head of the Volkswagen Group's Porsche unit, is appointed the new CEO. In a press release Mueller states, "My most urgent task is to win back trust for the Volkswagen Group — by leaving no stone unturned and with maximum transparency, as well as drawing the right conclusions from the current situation. Under my leadership, Volkswagen will do everything it can to develop and implement the most stringent compliance and governance standards in our industry" (Volkswagen, 2015).



27 September 2015

Volkswagen launches a consumer site called vwdieselinfo.com that includes company statements and answers to frequently asked questions (Mays, 2015).



28 September 2015

German prosecutors launch a formal investigation into former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn on allegations of fraud ("Volkswagen: German prosecutors launch investigation into former boss", 2015).

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29 September 2015

Volkswagen states it has ordered an external investigation by US law firm Jones Day ("VW emissions scandal: How it unfolded", 2015).



30 September 2015

More than one in 10 of Volkswagen's affected diesel cars are on Britain's roads, which means almost 1.2 million vehicles in the UK are affected by the scandal (Bradshaw, 2015).



1 October 2015

Volkswagen appoints Hans Dieter Poetsch, its new chief financial officer, as the new board chairman. This is due to an inability of long serving insiders to get to the bottom of the scandal ("VW emissions scandal: How it unfolded", 2015).



3 October 2015

Volkswagen stops sales of some models in Australia ("Volkswagen halts sales", 2015).



6 October 2015

Volkswagen Group of America returns three Cars.com awards for some of their clean diesel turbocharged cars. A letter to Cars.com from Volkswagen Group of America's CEO, Michael Horn, states "In light of the recent action by EPA concerning our 2.0 L TDI vehicles and associated allegations, out of respect for you and your highly influential website, we feel it best at this time to return the 2015 Best Bet Award" (Cars.com Staff, 2016). Matthias Müller states that the recall of those diesel vehicles affected by the emissions scandal will commence in January and will be repaired by the end of 2016. The recall does not include over 500,000 affected vehicles in the United States, and no timeline for these vehicles has been announced (Tovey & Bradshaw, 2015).



8 October 2015

German prosecutors raid Volkswagen's headquarters in Wolfsburg, as well as other locations and multiple employees' homes (Ruddick, 2015c). Volkswagen Group's American CEO, Michael Horn, appears before US Congress and the House Energy and Commerce Committee, where he apologised and blamed the scandal on "a couple of software engineers." Horn also outlined a plan to fix the crisis, by holding those responsible accountable and ensuring there is a safeguard against future breaches of trust (Kasperkevic & Rushe, 2015).



9 October 2015

Volkswagen Australia will recall 90,000 vehicles affected by the scandal. The German transport ministry states that 3.6 million vehicles in Europe will need extensive hardware changes, including new fuel tanks (Kollewe, 2015a).



11 October 2015

The European Investment Bank (EU) is investigating whether Volkswagen used over £1.3 billion in outstanding loans to cheat on emissions tests. If Volkswagen is found to have done so, the EU will demand the money back ("EU bank chief 'could recall VW loans', 2015).



13 October 2015

Volkswagen announces it will cut spending by £750 million to help fund a new efficiency programme which focuses on electric and hybrid vehicles (Ferrell, 2015).

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15 October 2015

Germany's Federal Motor Transport Authority has ordered a mandatory recall of affected diesel cars involved in the emissions scandal which spans across 28 countries. These include 8.5 million vehicles in Europe and 2.4 million in Germany (Ruddick & Topham, 2015).



20 October 2015

A poll shows that nearly two-thirds of Germans still trust Volkswagen, 65 percent think the scandal has been exaggerated and 63 percent think the scandal will be forgotten within a year (Löhr, 2015b).



21 October 2015

The German state of Lower Saxony files a criminal complaint after a file mysteriously disappeared from the company's headquarters (Löhr, 2015).



23 October 2015

Doubts grow over former CEO Martin Winterkorn's involvement in the Volkswagen emissions scandal. Speculation suggests that Winterkorn might have known about the diesel emissions cheating since 2014 (Löhr, 2015c).



28 October 2015

Volkswagen reports its first loss in 15 years of £3.5 billion in the third quarter as a result of the emissions scandal. This comes after a cost of \$7.5 billion in vehicle recalls associated by the scandal (Ewing, 2015e).



29 October 2015

The United Kingdom transport secretary states that Volkswagen must consider compensation for motorists caught up in the emissions scandal as some vehicles will lose resale value (Ruddick, 2015d).



2 November 2015

During further testing the EPA have found illegal defeat devices in six more of Volkswagen's cars, including Audi and Porsche models, 3-litre diesel cars, which totals a further 85,000 cars. Volkswagen have denied these claims. Volkswagen have also been hit with two class action lawsuits from car owners in Australia (Hotten, 2015).



3 November 2015

Volkswagen admits to a further 800,000 additional cars being affected by irregularities with CO₂ emissions. Volkswagen, Porsche and Audi have told car dealers to stop the sales of all six vehicle models which have defeat devices, including the Q7 SUV model which has a 3.0-litre diesel engine (Ruddick, 2015c).



6 November 2015

Volkswagen states it will cover the extra CO₂ and fuel usage taxes incurred by EU drivers ("VW says it will cover extra CO₂", 2015).



9 November 2015

Volkswagen offers car owners affected by the emissions scandal \$1000 gift cards as a goodwill gesture. Volkswagen's repair costs increase as Germany's transport ministry state that 540,000 cars need changes to their hardware (Thielman, 2015).

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10 November 2015

The Volkswagen Group's biggest shareholder, Porsche, has had a decline of more than half of its profits due to the emissions scandal (Tovey, 2015c).



19 November 2015

Officials from Volkswagen inform the EPA that the defeat device that was used to cheat emissions tests has existed in all of its 3.0 litre diesel models in the US since 2009 (Environmental Protection Agency, 2015).



23 November 2015

Volkswagen admits that there were defeat devices in the three-litre engines used in Volkswagen, Audi and Porsche cars (McGee, 2015).



24 November 2015

Matthias Müller states that German regulators have signed off on a software update which will fix the affected two-litre diesel motors and that the majority of the affected vehicles will not require major work ("VW to release fix for cars", 2015).



2 December 2015

Volkswagen takes out €20 billion loan to help it overcome the emissions scandal and vowed that jobs will not be squandered (Davies, 2015).



4 December 2015

Industry figures show that Volkswagen sales fell 20 percent year on year in the UK and 25 percent in the US (Ruddick, 2015e).



9th December 2015

Volkswagen states that the number of cars affected with irregular CO2 levels is lower than initially expected, 36,000 rather than 800,000 (McGee, 2015).



10 December 2015

During their internal investigation, Volkswagen states that they have found individual misconduct and weak processes that have allowed some parts of the company to tolerate breaching of the rules. Matthias Müller states that the crisis is an opportunity for Volkswagen to have a "much-needed structural change" (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



4 January 2016

The United States Department of Justice files an environmental lawsuit against Volkswagen over emissions cheating software that was found in nearly 600,000 vehicles sold in the U.S. This lawsuit includes Audi and Porsche for violations against the Clean Air Act. Cynthia Giles, who is an administrator at the EPA stated that it's "an important step to protect public health" and "Recall discussions with the company have not produced an acceptable way forward. These discussions will continue in parallel with the federal court action" (Department of Justice, 2016).



11 January 2016

At an auto show in Detroit, Volkswagen announced that they would extend their \$1000 goodwill offer to owners of the 2009 to 2016 Touareg SUVs, previously the offer was only available to 2.0-litre diesel car owners (Cars.com Staff, 2016).

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12 January 2016

The California Air Resources Board (CARB) rejects Volkswagen's proposal regarding how they will fix their diesel 2.0-litre engines. The proposal details have confidential but a spokesperson from CARB stated that the plan was too unspecific in its technical changes and what impact it would have on the affected cars (Carroll, 2016).



5 February 2016

Volkswagen postpones the release of its annual results for 2015, as well as delaying their shareholder meeting (Thomas, 2016).



25 February 2016

A California judge gives Volkswagen until 24 March to provide a solid answer as to whether or not they have been EPA approved to fix their diesel cars. Volkswagen states that it is progressing to a solution but cannot disclose details on any settlements as ordered by the Justice Department (Cars.com, 2016).



7 March 2016

Volkswagen blames Martin Winterkorn, former CEO, for the emissions scandal (Smith & Parloff, 2016).



9 March 2016

Michael Horn, CEO of Volkswagen Group America, resigns effective immediately. Hinrich Woeckel, the head of the North American Region and chairman of Volkswagen Group of America, will replace Horn on an interim basis (Neate, 2016b).



15 March 2016

In a German court, a lawsuit has been filed against Volkswagen by investors for over 3.5 billion euros. The divisions in Volkswagen responsible for auto financing and leasing to save money find themselves under a lot of pressure (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



24 March 2016

A California judge overseeing the Volkswagen emissions scandal lawsuits granted an extension until 21 April to reach an agreement with regulators about how it will fix the cars affected (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



29 March 2016

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen for using deceptive advertising in campaigns promoting its cars as being "clean diesel". The FTC claims that Volkswagen has misled consumers and suggests that those consumers who purchased cars between 2008 and 2015 should be compensated (Associated Press, 2016).



6 April 2016

United States car dealerships entered the emissions scandal by filing a lawsuit in Chicago claiming that they were intentionally defrauded by Volkswagen (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



12 April 2016

Volkswagen's top management agreed to a decrease in bonus payments for key executives (Cars.com Staff, 2016).

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21 April 2016

Volkswagen has agreed with US regulators to offer compensation and to buy back cars as part of the emissions scandal settlement. Owners with 2.0-litre diesels will be able to sell them back to the company or have them fixed. US District Court Judge Charles Breyer set a date of 21 June 2016 for the final plan to be made public. The proposal to fix 80,000 V-6 Audi, Porsche and VW diesels is still unresolved (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



22 April 2016

Volkswagen postponed the announcement of its financial results for the year. Volkswagen says it will incur a loss of \$16.2 billion euro (\$18.2 billion USD) due to the emissions scandal (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



31 May 2016

Volkswagen's decrease in its first quarter net profit fell by 2.3 billion euros from 2.9 billion in the same period of 2015 (Kollewec, 2015).



1 June 2016

Volkswagen's US sales have decreased by 13 percent, global sales have decreased by 2 percent (Kolleweb, 2015).



16 June 2016

CEO Matthias Müller introduced the "Together Strategy 2025" plan to invest in electric cars (Kollewea, 2015).



20 June 2016

German prosecutors are investigating former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn for alleged market manipulation ("German prosecutors investigate", 2016).



26 June 2016

A Federal District Court gave preliminary approval to Volkswagen's proposed \$14.7 billion settlement. Owners will be notified immediately and will be able to register to identify their options for compensation. A final approval hearing will be held on 18 October (Cars.com Staff, 2016).



28 June 2016

Volkswagen has agreed to pay \$14.7 billion in car buy-backs, fines and penalties in the United States. Volkswagen said its second quarter net profit has almost halved due to the scandal (Deutsche Presse-Agentu, 2016a)



19 July 2016

The US states of Maryland, New York and Massachusetts filed lawsuits against Volkswagen (Tabuchi & Ewing, 2016b).



28 July 2016

Volkswagen surpasses Toyota in global sales to regain the position as market leader after the first half of 2016 (Campbell & McGee, 2016).

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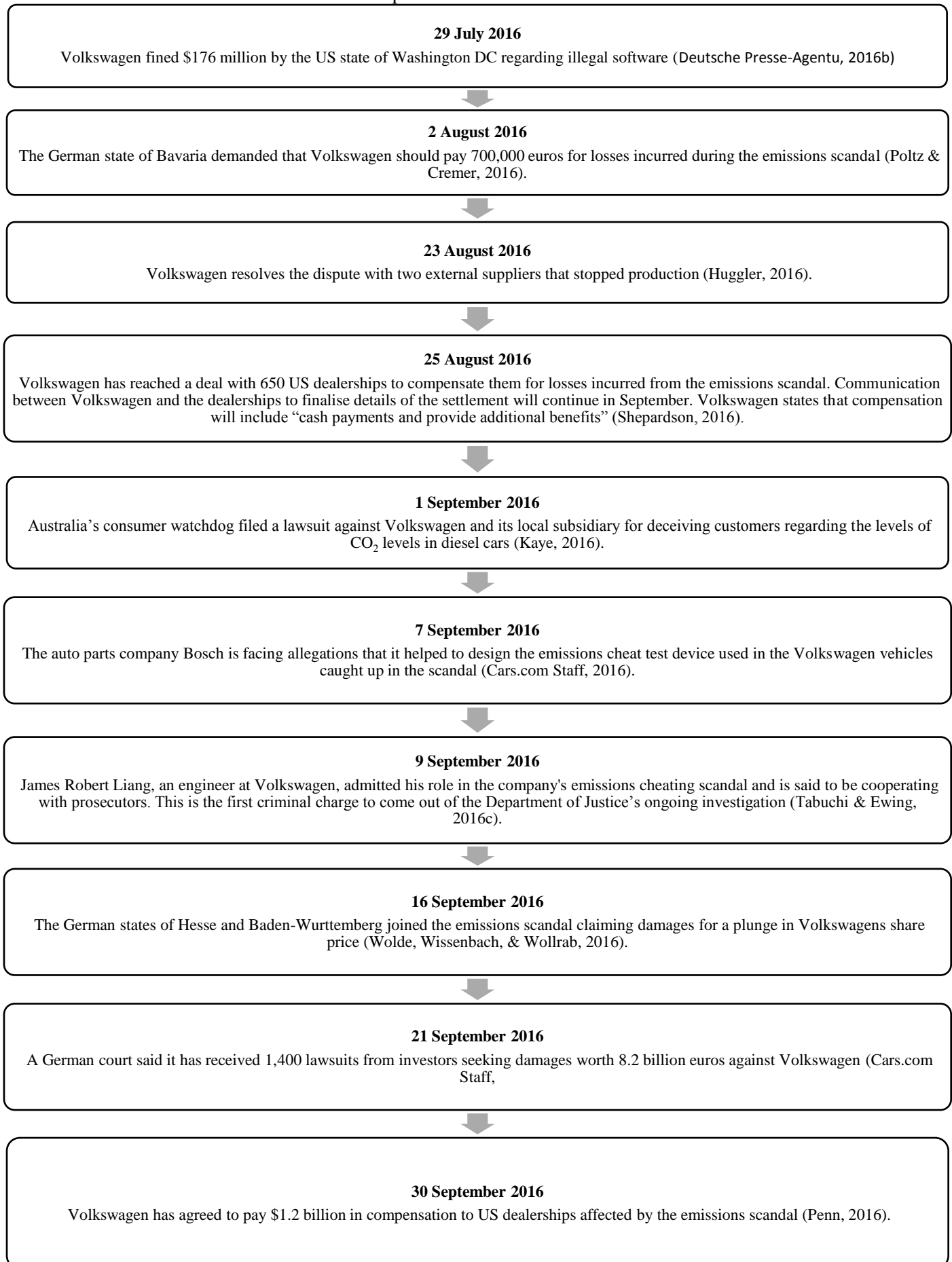


Figure 4.6 Volkswagen emissions scandal a chronological order of events

The timeline in Figure 4.6 highlights the severity of the Volkswagen emission scandal, what happened, who was involved and what the repercussions were. In summary, this timeline shows that the scandal formed when Volkswagen admitted manipulation of diesel-engine emissions to the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). Volkswagen then made a public apology through CEO, Martin Winterkorn, who resigned and was replaced by Matthias Müller.

Investigations in the United States and Europe soon followed, including the raiding of Volkswagen's company offices. Volkswagen apologised to the United States and then announced recalls and spending cuts. Investigations into Martin Winterkorn's involvement in the scandal commenced, the EPA announced further testing of Volkswagen vehicles and Volkswagen reported its first drop in profit as a result of the scandal. Volkswagen then announced that some of its subsidiaries were involved in the emissions cheating, including Audi and Porsche.

Legal action and compensation commenced as the United States filed lawsuits against Volkswagen and Volkswagen offered a goodwill package to customers affected by the scandal. The California Air Resources Board (CARB) rejected Volkswagen's proposal regarding a fix for affected cars and Volkswagen announced a delay in releasing its 2015 financial report. Volkswagen dealerships then filed lawsuits against the company and Volkswagen agreed to reduce company executive bonuses.

The scandal seemed to be coming to an end when Volkswagen agreed to buy back or repair affected vehicles and CEO Matthias Müller introduced the "Together Strategy 2025" with plans to invest in electric cars. However, Martin Winterkorn came under further investigation for alleged market manipulation and the company faced further lawsuits and fines in the United States. Volkswagen managed to regain its market leader position from Toyota, the company was fined again and then reached a settlement deal with the United States government. Volkswagen's supplier, Bosch, was found to be a key contributor to the scandal and a company engineer pleaded guilty to his role in the emissions cheating scandal. Finally, Volkswagen agreed to pay \$1.2 billion compensation to US dealerships.

4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented a brief history of how the Volkswagen Group was established and how it developed. It shows that the company's long-term strategies and decisions made were strongly influenced by government representatives through their membership of the company's governing body. The level of government control over this privately owned company reflects the significance of the company to the German economy but also means the government is strongly implicated in any challenges that are made to company policy or actions. Furthermore, it shows that Volkswagen had a reputation as a highly regarded company that produced 'safe', 'ethical' and 'eco-conscious' vehicles.

On September 3, 2015, Volkswagen was called into question for cheating emissions tests on its diesel vehicles. The company faced legal action, billions of dollars in fines, loss of reputation and a reduction in market share. This chapter provides a detailed timeline that provides an account of events, explaining what happened, when it happened and who was involved. It also shows the severity of the scandal and highlights the repercussions caused by the company's deceitful actions. Further examples of repercussions for Volkswagen include a reduction in sales and profit. These can be seen in Volkswagen's 2014 and 2015 annual reports. In 2014, Volkswagen sold 10,217,003 vehicles, this decreased to 10,009,605 in 2015. In 2014, Volkswagen produced 10,212,562 vehicles, this number decreased to 10,017,191 in 2015. Finally in 2014, Volkswagen's return on sales before tax was 7.3%, this decreased to -0.6% in 2015 (Volkswagen AG, 2015a)

Volkswagen's behaviour in relation to vehicles' emissions revealed through the timeline of the Volkswagen emissions scandal is at odds with its reputation of displaying sustainable, environmentally friendly and ethical business practices. No doubt, the contrast between reputation, associated expectations and behaviour in relation to the emissions software they employed contributed to the intensity of the scandal that ensued when the company's fraudulent behaviour was revealed.

The next chapter presents the findings from this research's preliminary analysis and framing analysis. The chapter provides a process diagram allowing the reader to see the steps this study has taken to achieve its results. The chapter then presents the findings from the Leximancer concept analysis and the NVivo word frequency analysis. This thesis will present

the findings from the framing analysis used to compare the media and the company's communications over time and across countries.

5 RESULTS

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the framing analysis to answer the three research questions presented in Chapter One. The results are addressed in three main sections. The first section introduces the newspapers that were studied and explains how and why they were selected. It then briefly recaps the methods used to analyse the articles collected from these publications, finishing with a flow diagram of the steps involved in the analysis. This flow diagram is included to assist the reader to appreciate the findings in the two sections that follow. The second section presents the preliminary results produced from the Leximancer concept maps and word frequency analysis. The third section discusses the results of the framing analysis. These results are presented in four sub sections, overall framing, national framing, framing over time and company framing. Finally, there is a summary of the key findings including a table to increase readability.

5.1 NEWSPAPER SELECTION

The Guardian, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* were the chosen newspapers for this study. Table 5.1 introduces each newspaper and provides a justification for its selection. By selecting these newspapers the study was able to establish frames in the countries that were predominantly impacted by the scandal.

Table 5.1 Newspaper Selection and Justification

Newspaper	Description	Justification for selection
The Guardian	Founded in 1821, <i>The Guardian</i> is an international newspaper with an impressive business history (The Guardian, 2002). <i>The Guardian</i> has a print circulation of 161,091 newspapers daily, a readership of 1,898,000 articles daily, and daily traffic of 30,673,397 page impressions (Viner, 2017).	<i>The Guardian</i> was selected because it is the highest status newspaper for the United Kingdom (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015). <i>The Guardian</i> also has a large readership for both print and online news, which can be seen in the figures presented in the newspaper's description.
The New York Times	Founded in 1835, <i>The New York Times</i> is an international	<i>The New York Times</i> was selected because it is the highest status

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	newspaper (The New York Times, 2016). The Newspaper has over 57 million monthly website visitors (Greenberg, 2015) and 10.19 million readers of its Sunday edition alone (Statista, 2016).	newspaper for the United States (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015). <i>The New York Times</i> is a well-respected newspaper with a large readership and a strong online presence, which can be seen in the figures presented in the newspaper's description.
The Sydney Morning Herald	Founded in 1831, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> is national newspaper (The Sydney Morning Herald, 2005). In July 2016, the paper reached its highest annual readership of 6.36 million people in Australia (Dunckley, 2016).	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> was selected because it is the highest status newspaper for Australia (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015).
China Daily	Founded in 1981, <i>China Daily</i> is the only English-language newspaper in the country. The newspaper is international with an average daily circulation of over 200,000 in over 150 countries (China Daily, 2017).	<i>China Daily</i> was selected because it is a high status newspaper for China (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015). The newspaper is the only national English-language newspaper in China, eliminating the need for translation.
Times of India	Founded in 1837, the <i>Times of India</i> is an English language newspaper with average daily sales of 3, 057,678 (Audit Bureau, 2015).	The <i>Times of India</i> was selected because it is a high status newspaper for India (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015). It is India's most influential newspaper (Times of India, 2011) and it is an English-language newspaper, eliminating the need for translation.
O GLOBO	Founded in 1925, <i>O GLOBO</i> has received 58 awards by the Society for News Design, has over 320,000 subscribers in both print or digital form and an average of 20 million website visits monthly (GrupoGlobo, 2015).	<i>O GLOBO</i> was selected because of its large readership and a strong online presence. It was also selected because it is in a region in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share (Volkswagen Financial Services AG, 2015).
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung	Founded in 1949, <i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> is an international newspaper with the widest circulation in Germany, 382,000 and has one of the world's largest	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> was chosen because it is a high status newspaper for Germany (4International Media & Newspapers, 2016), and one of the most prestigious and influential in Germany (Frankfurter Allgemeine

networks of readers (VOXeup, 2017).	Zeitung, 2010). It was also chosen because it reports in Volkswagen's country of origin.
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5.2 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS METHODS

Data collection incorporated 786 communication publications from *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and Volkswagen. The titles of these communications were subjected to both Leximancer and NVivo software to produce concept maps and a word frequency table. A table explaining the scandal's story was established, providing an initial overview of the aspects of the scandal. Framing analysis was then conducted to identify the frames used by the media and Volkswagen. This involved examining how both the media and Volkswagen structured their communications and identifying what kind of the language was used that placed emphasis on particular aspects as well as neglecting others (Economic & social research council, 2016). Examining how the frames changed over time and across countries ultimately allowed the research questions presented in Chapter One to be answered.

5.3 PROCESS DIAGRAM

This section presents a process diagram of the steps undertaken during this study to produce the results presented below (see Fig. 5.1). This study covers the period from when the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) discovered Volkswagen was intentionally installing 'defeat' software to misrepresent its cars' exhaust emission levels (September 2015), to when the first criminal charge was laid one year later (September 2016). The chosen period allowed the study to examine the scandal's progression through the initial break, to the company's apologies, international investigations and recalls, the allocation of compensation packages, international settlements and, finally, the formal convictions of the accused. Ultimately, this provides a time period for more comprehensive results.

Chapter 5- RESULTS

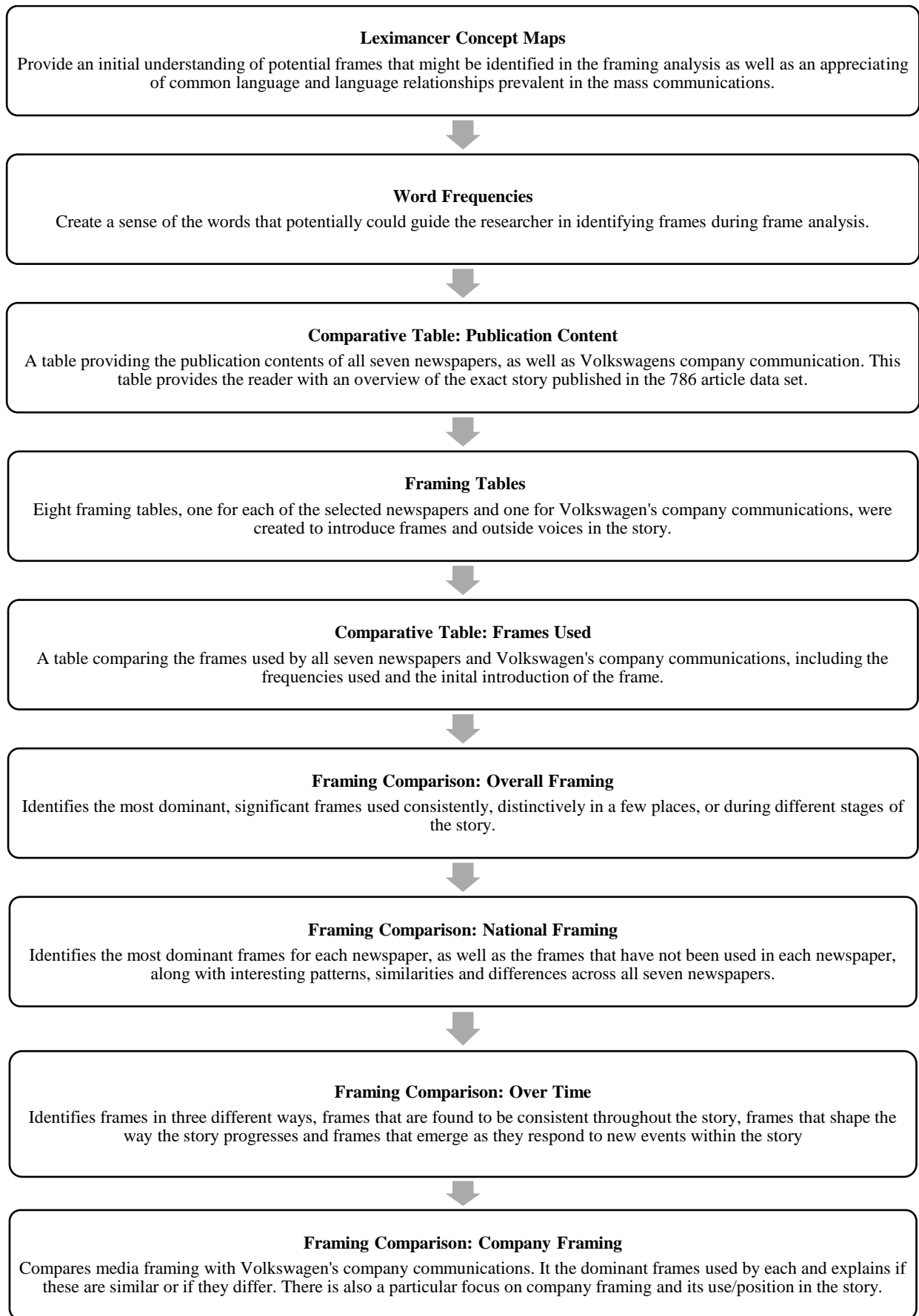


Figure 5.1 The Analysis Process

5.4 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

5.4.1 LEXIMANCER CONCEPT MAPS

This section presents the Leximancer concept maps created using the titles of 786 articles from seven selected newspapers, as well as the titles from Volkswagen's communications. These concept maps were used in a preliminary analysis to provide insights into possible frames used throughout the scandal's communications. These maps highlight concepts that appear together frequently in the text or in similar situations, displaying them closely together or linked on the map. A concept map was produced for each individual newspaper and for Volkswagen; the results in each map allowed assumptions to be made about the frames that could be produced in the framing analysis.

5.4.1.1 THE GUARDIAN

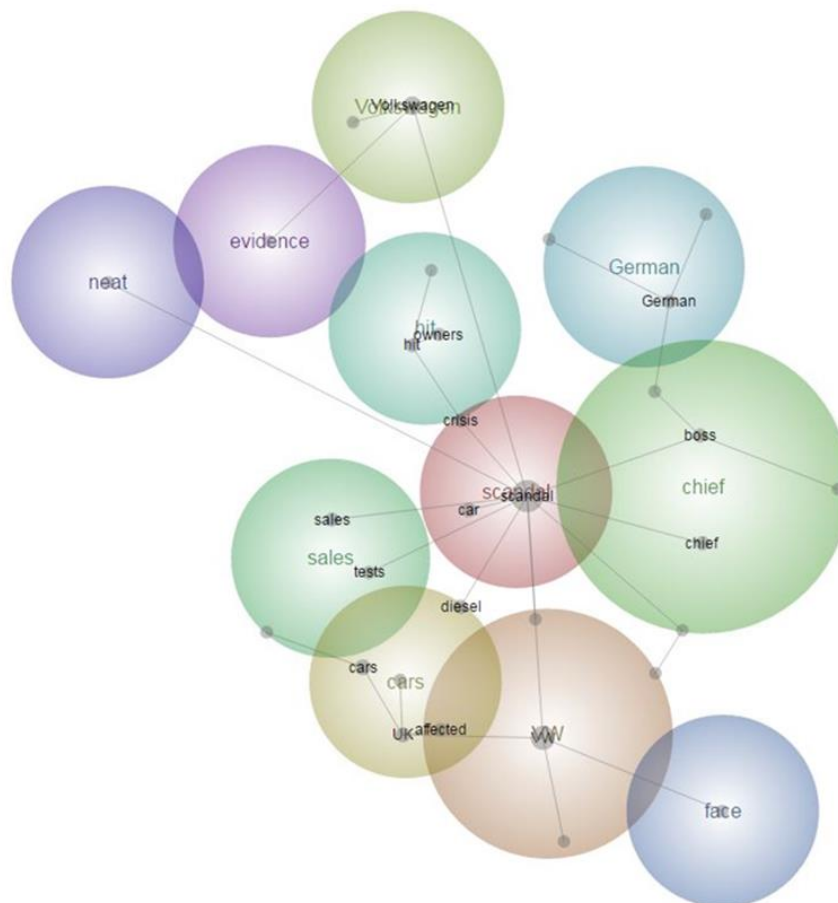


Figure 5.2 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from The Guardian

Figure 5.2 suggests the centrality of the word ‘scandal’. Scandal has links with every other aspect of the map, including the chief, the company itself, Germany, the United Kingdom, cars, owners, etc. This suggests that the newspaper framed the story as a scandal. Suggesting that scandal is not only where this story started but it is a pivotal word that holds the story together. It also suggests the word scandal has been used as the dominant frame and the centre of meaning. ‘Volkswagen’ and ‘VW’ can be viewed as synonyms, therefore the concept becomes bigger in the map. This implies the limelight in which the newspaper places Volkswagen as the key contributor to the scandal.

Leximancer brings concepts together to communicate the ways in which the newspaper creates meaning through headlines. The word ‘Volkswagen’ has lines to the words ‘scandal’ and ‘evidence’, but there is no line to the word ‘Germany’. This suggests the newspaper did not create a link between Germany and Volkswagen, as was probably already implicit. The fact that these two words do appear in the concept map suggests that the newspaper might refer to these countries having a new found connection as a result of the scandal. Words such as ‘scandal’ or ‘evidence’ might not have been prevalent in their past connection.

In Figure 5.2 some words are emphasised more than others. ‘Diesel’ is smaller compared with other words which suggests this newspaper does not frame the story as a technical issue and does not primarily connect the scandal to its technical origins. The absence of the words ‘emissions’ or ‘CO₂’ suggests this newspaper does not frame the story as an environmental issue.

This concept map (Figure 5.2) suggests that the newspaper might frame the story around Volkswagen and its management team, which can be seen in the use of the words ‘Volkswagen’, ‘VW’, ‘chief’ and ‘boss’. The large concept bubble of the word ‘chief’, presented suggests the newspaper might frame accountability on Volkswagen’s leaders. Leximancer focuses on relative likelihood, it does a probabilistic test of words that are more likely to appear in the data than in normal English usage; it also has a reference corpus of random texts so it can identify words that are common and those that are not. The word ‘chief’ is fairly common in English text, suggesting it is very common in the data set. Therefore its prominence here suggests more than normal emphasis on the word. The word

chief has only one linkage, to the word scandal, which suggests relevance to the extent there is a focus on the chief's involvement in the scandal.

The words present in this concept map allow the creation of ideas and suggestions into the way *The Guardian* has framed this scandal. However, the words not present in the concept map are also very interesting. For example, the words 'software', 'US', 'emissions', 'cheating' and 'recall' did not appear, drawing questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.2 THE NEW YORK TIMES

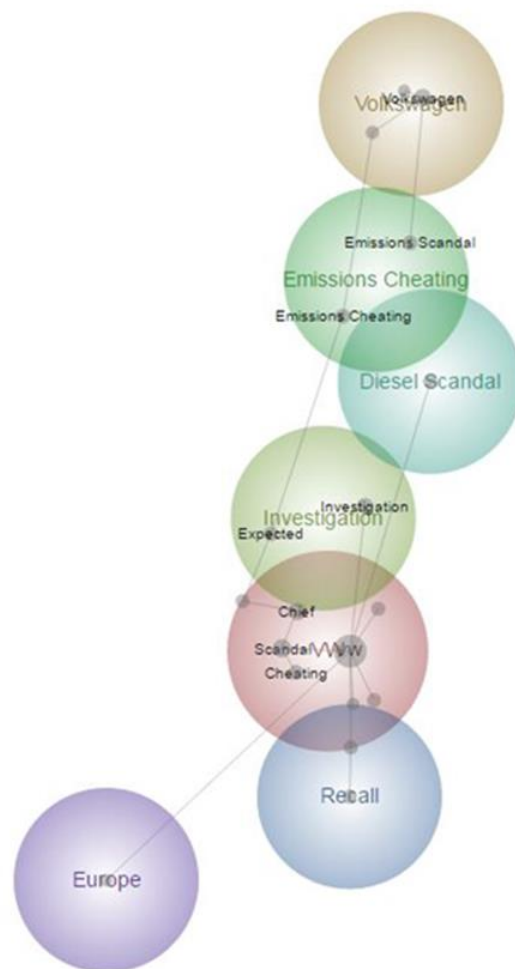


Figure 5.3 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from *The New York Times*

Like *The Guardian*'s concept map (Figure 5.2), 'Volkswagen' and 'VW' can be viewed as synonyms, again creating a larger concept in *The New York Times* map (see Figure. 5.3)

suggesting the centrality of the brand to the story. These words have links with every other concept in the map, including ‘emissions cheating’, ‘diesel cheating’, ‘investigation’, ‘recall’ and ‘Europe’. This suggests that Volkswagen lies at the centre of the scandal and accountability has been placed on it.

In contrast to *The Guardian*, the words ‘diesel’ and ‘scandal’ have been placed together to create ‘diesel scandal’ in the *Times* map. Leximancer highlights that this was a set phrase; these words mostly appeared in the newspaper together and to create the single concept. This suggests *The New York Times* might have framed the scandal with more of a focus on it being a technical or environmental issue. This map also highlights the terms ‘investigation’ and ‘Europe’, which is significantly different from *The Guardian*, suggesting the *Times* might frame more towards outside countries, such as Europe, investigating the company.

Leximancer has created linkages with words to communicate the ways in which the *Times* creates meaning. The words ‘VW’ and ‘Europe’ have been linked, which shows a connection between the two. Europe can also be linked to the words inside the VW concept bubble; these are ‘chief’, ‘scandal’, and ‘cheating’, suggesting that Europe might have been caught up in the cheating scandal. There are also links to the words ‘investigation’, ‘VW’ and ‘recall’. This suggests the newspaper may have framed the stories to show Volkswagen is under investigation and there are solutions to be carried out in the form of recalls.

In this concept map (Figure 5.3), there are words that are emphasised more than others, e.g., the word ‘chief’. Unlike *The Guardian*, ‘chief’ is shown in smaller words rather than having its own concept bubble. This suggests that *The New York Times* might not have framed the scandal around management to the extent *The Guardian* has. Chief is still a strong word but it is shown to be a smaller part of Volkswagen scandal rather than a main focus. The absence of words such as ‘Germany’, ‘US’, ‘software’, and ‘sales’ also draws questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.3 THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

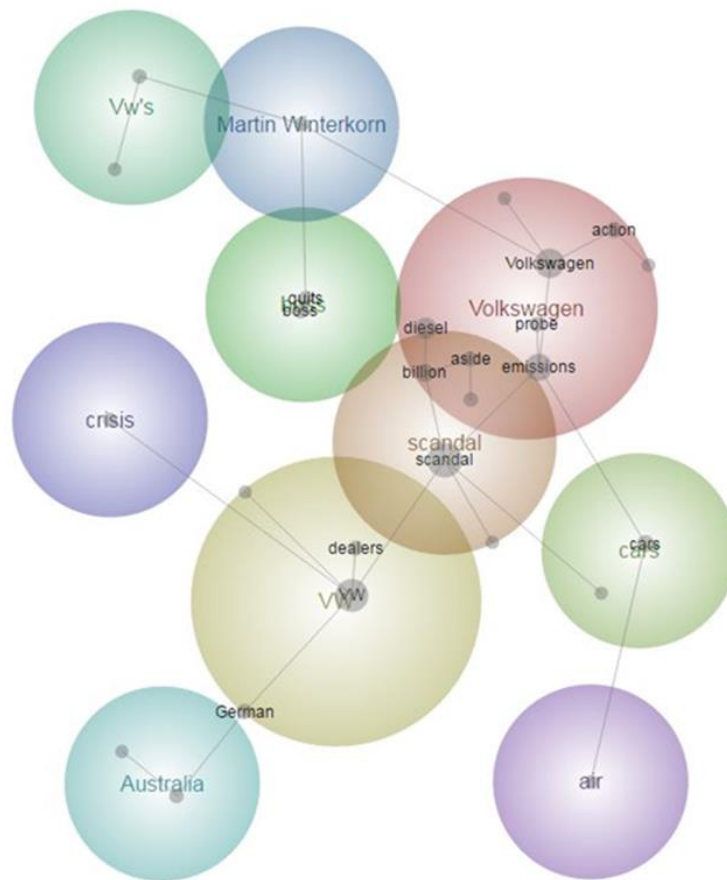


Figure 5.4 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from *The Sydney Morning Herald*

Like *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*, Volkswagen and its synonyms can be placed together to form a larger concept bubble (see Figure 5.4). Unlike the other two newspapers, Leximancer has identified a third term for Volkswagen called 'VW's'. When merged with 'Volkswagen' and 'VW' it creates the largest concept bubble, representing the company, out of the three maps. These words along with 'scandal' have the most linkages to the other words in the map (Figure 5.4), suggesting the newspaper has framed accountability on Volkswagen as a main association with the scandal and that there is a centrality around the word 'scandal'.

This newspaper's concept map (Figure 5.4) is the only one that highlights Martin Winterkorn by name. All the other newspapers' concept maps focussed on the words 'CEO', 'chief' or 'boss'. This suggests that *The Sydney Morning Herald* might frame accepting accountability for the scandal by putting a name and face to it. 'Martin Winterkorn' has linkages to the words 'boss' and 'quits' suggesting possible repercussions framing.

‘Crisis’ appears in this concept map. The word also appears in *The Guardian*’s map (Figure 5.2), but it is shown only as a smaller word not as a full bubble as in Figure 5.4. This suggests that *The Sydney Morning Herald* might have put more emphasis on the large nature of the problem, more so than other newspapers.

There is an interesting link between the newspapers’ country of origin and Volkswagen. This suggests Australia has connections with Germany, most likely a relationship formed before the scandal. However, Australia and Germany have been linked to the word ‘scandal’, which implies a new connection has been made as a result of the scandal. This suggests that Australia is localising the story; it is not writing about Volkswagen in Europe or the United States, but writing about Volkswagen and Germany mostly in relation to Australia, so that Australians can relate to the story. It implies the newspaper is making the story one about Australia and Germany and, therefore, about a big foreign company acting inappropriately, rather than the brand. In turn this suggests the mention of Germany is significant as it does not need to be there for the basic meaning. There are also linkages with the words ‘emissions’, ‘cars’ and ‘air’, which suggests the newspaper may have used an environmental framing aspect whereby the newspaper refers to Volkswagen’s actions impacting on the environment.

In Figure 5.4, some words are emphasised more than others, e.g., ‘emissions’, ‘diesel’, ‘probe’ and ‘action’ are smaller in the map. This suggests that the newspaper might not have framed the technical side of the emissions scandal. The absence of words such as ‘US’, ‘UK’, ‘recall’ and ‘sales’ draws questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.4 CHINA DAILY

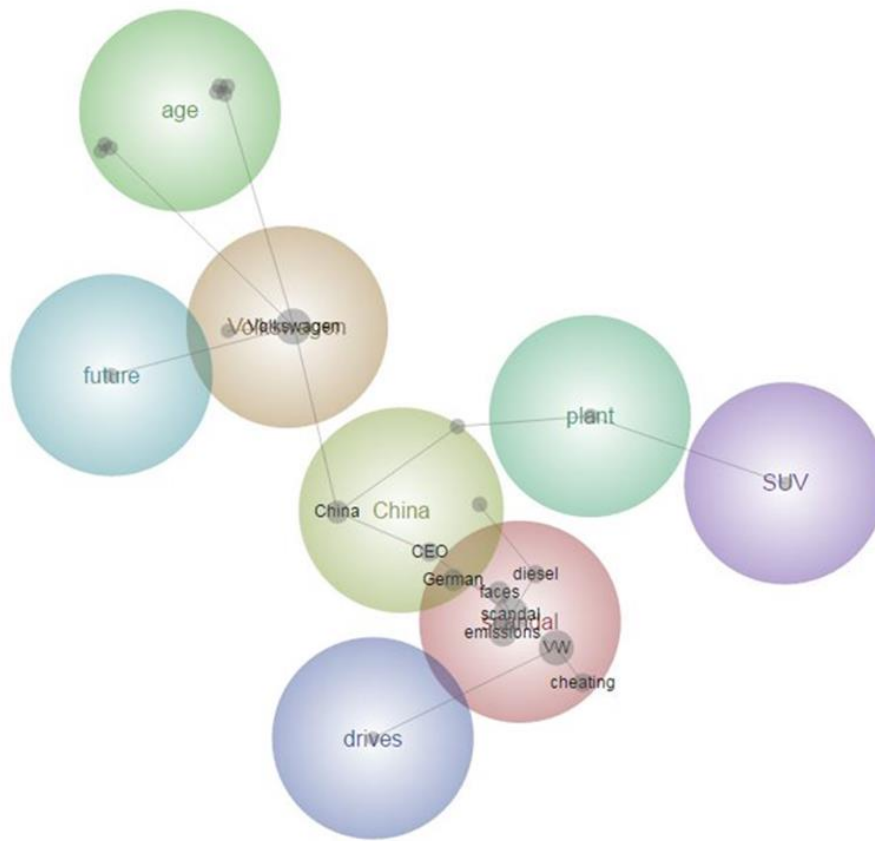


Figure 5.5 *The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from China Daily*

This map (see Figure 5.5) suggests the newspaper has placed centrality on the word ‘scandal’. ‘Scandal’ has links to most other aspects of the map including ‘China’ and ‘Volkswagen’. Like Figure 5.2, this suggests that the newspaper may have framed scandal as not only where the story started but as being a pivotal word that holds the story together.

China Daily’s concept map differs from the other six newspapers because it does not focus solely on words associated with the scandal. In the map, one can see that the words associated with scandal have been grouped together by Leximancer and placed into the scandal concept bubble. This suggests that *China Daily* might frame the scandal by referring to the words ‘diesel’, ‘emissions’ and ‘cheating’ but, because they are smaller, they might be less important to the newspaper.

The most interesting aspect of Figure 5.5 are the words ‘age’, ‘future’, ‘plant’, ‘SUV’ and ‘drives’. Usually, one would not associate these words with a scandal. This suggests that

China Daily might have framed the scandal in a different light from other newspapers. There are also linkages between these words and ‘Volkswagen’ and ‘China’ which suggests *China Daily* may have used these words to frame the story with a focus on the future development of a business relationship through ‘plants’ and ‘SUVs’.

The words ‘German’ and ‘CEO’ have been placed between the scandal and China concept bubbles. Like *The Sydney Morning Herald*, this suggests the newspaper might have localised the story framing how Germany’s relationship with China and the relationship between the CEO and China were affected by the scandal’s fallout. However, if the newspaper was using a future development framing concept that would suggest that, although the scandal has affected China, it hasn’t affected its business relationship, which in turn reduces the scandal’s significance. This raises questions about the relationship between the two, which can be explained only with further research. The absence of words such as ‘US’, ‘UK’, ‘recall’, ‘sales’, and software’ draws questions about their absence, which also highlights the need for further research.

5.4.1.5 TIMES OF INDIA



Figure 5.6 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from the Times of India

Like *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, ‘Volkswagen’ and its synonym ‘VW’ can become a joint concept in order to create a larger bubble. This suggests that the newspaper might place accountability on Volkswagen by framing it as being the lead contributor to the scandal.

This concept map (see Figure 5.6) is different from the previous concept maps because this map suggests the *Times of India* placed more focus on framing the scandal from a national perspective. ‘India’ is shown as a large concept bubble suggesting the newspaper frames its strong presence in the scandal. This is like *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *China Daily*, suggesting the Indian newspaper localised the story and that the story is not about a German company but more about the implications of the company’s actions on India. This raises questions about the relationship between the two, which can be explained only with further research. Inside the bubble are the words ‘emission’, ‘ARAI’, ‘cars’, ‘lakh’ and ‘recall’. These words are also linked to Volkswagen and the word ‘unit’. This suggests the newspaper focussed on India being largely affected by the scandal and that Volkswagen might have involved the Automotive Research Association of India (ARAI) to help with investigations and solutions in the form of recalls.

On the other half of the concept map, the word ‘scandal’ links to the words ‘brand’, ‘fraud’, ‘head’, ‘probe’ and ‘Volkswagen’. This implies the *Times of India* framed the scandal with a focus on Volkswagen’s deception, placing blame on the CEO and investigations into the company brand. The words ‘head’ and ‘chief’ suggests the newspaper might use an accepting accountability frame to place accountability on the Volkswagen CEO.

An interesting word emerged in this concept map (Figure 5.6), the word ‘despite’. This is interesting because ‘despite’ is a preposition whereas every other map focuses on nouns. Although this is interesting, the point will not be explored further because more meaningful concepts need to be explored. The lack of the words such as ‘Germany’, ‘US’, ‘UK’, ‘diesel’, ‘sales’ and ‘software’ draw questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.6 O GLOBO

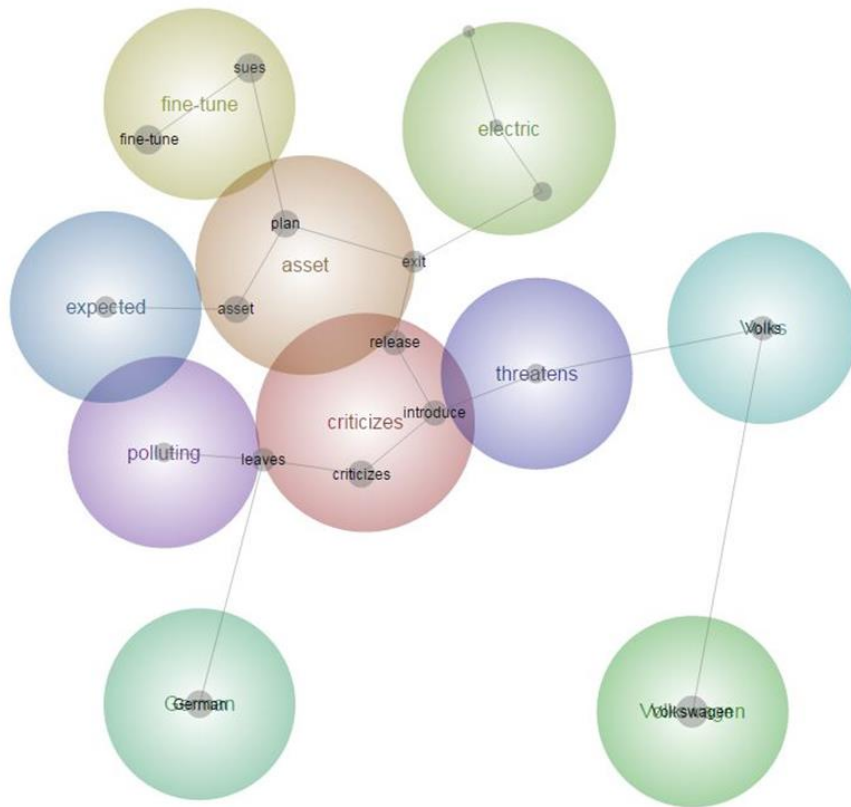


Figure 5.7 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from O GLOBO

Like *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Times of India* newspapers, the concept map (see Figure 5.7) can combine ‘Volkswagen’ and ‘Volks’ to create a larger concept bubble. This suggests the newspaper might frame Volkswagen as the main contributor to the scandal.

The *O GLOBO* concept map (Figure 5.7) is significantly different from the other concept maps because it suggests the newspaper might strongly frame the technical and environmental side of the scandal as seen in the words ‘fine-tune’, ‘polluting’, ‘electric’ and ‘release’. As well as this, this map suggests the newspaper frames the scandal by placing blame on the company and the country as a whole, because only ‘Volkswagen’ and ‘German’ are mentioned. Like *The Sydney Morning Herald*, this could also suggest this newspaper highlights the relationship of the two countries, which aligns with the results in Table 5.2 that suggest this country finds Germany’s involvement thematically important.

The other language used in this concept map consist of ‘sues’, ‘criticises’, ‘threatens’ ‘exit’ and ‘expected’. These words suggest the newspaper highlights the negative implications of the scandal for both Volkswagen and Germany. The words ‘plan’ and ‘introduce’ suggest the newspaper may employ a future frame. This is further emphasised by the word ‘electric’ suggesting the newspaper might use the future frame to refer to Volkswagen and electric vehicles.

This concept map is interesting in its layout and word linkages. The words ‘German’ and ‘Volkswagen’ are on the outside of the map, with fewer linkages to words shown in other newspapers’ concept maps, which draws questions about the reason for this. The absence of words such as ‘scandal’, ‘CEO’, ‘chief’, ‘emissions’, ‘US’, ‘UK’, ‘sales’, ‘cars’, ‘diesel’ and ‘recall’ draw questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.8 VOLKSWAGEN

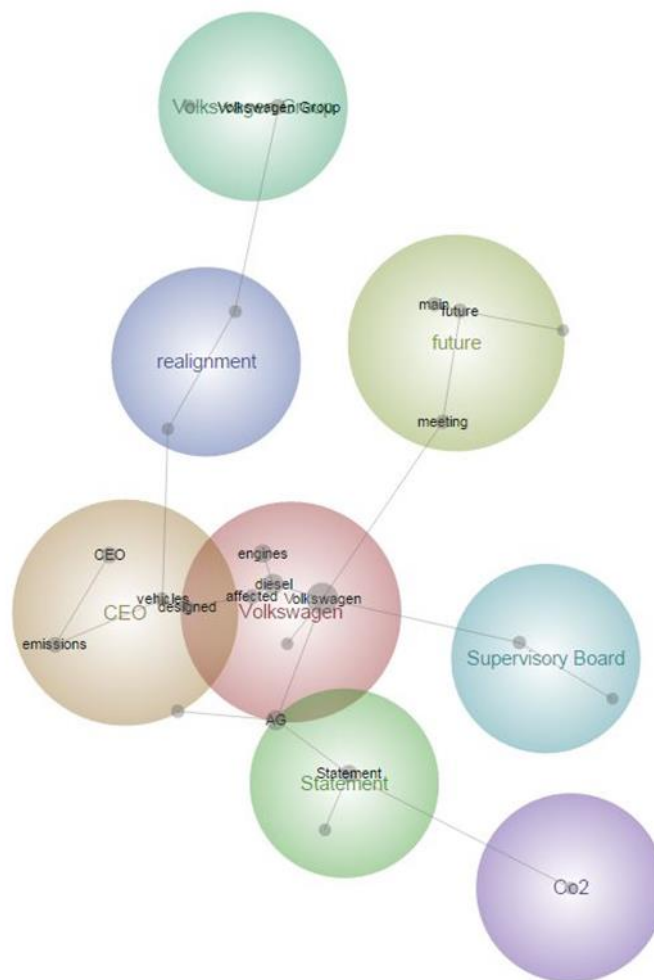


Figure 5.8 The Leximancer concept map of company communications' titles from Volkswagen

In Figure 5.9, the words ‘realignment’, ‘Supervisory board’, and ‘CEO’ suggest that Volkswagen’s communications focused on the institution and management of the company, as well as the CEO. The words presented in the seven newspapers’ concept maps suggest that the media had a stronger focus on the individual CEO or the company as a whole, not on the organisation’s internal managers. Usually, in newspaper reporting, the board of management would be mentioned only when, for example, a company appoints a new CEO, whereas in a company’s internal discourse, mentioning this is much more prominent.

Like the newspapers’ concept maps, the words ‘Volkswagen’ and ‘Volkswagen Group’ can be linked to create a larger concept bubble. This suggests Volkswagen’s company communications might focus largely on the company during the scandal. The word ‘Volkswagen Group’ was not identified in the newspapers’ concept maps suggesting the newspapers solely framed on the scandals impact on Volkswagen, whereas this concept map suggests company reporting frames the scandal with an impact on the whole company group.

Another difference between the newspaper reporting and the company reporting is the use of the word ‘statement’. Newspapers never write ‘this is a headline’ whereas corporate documents often say ‘this is a statement’. Companies do this to state what kind of text they are using, whereas newspapers always assume that kind of meta-textual information does not need to signal what kind of a text is being used. This suggests that Volkswagen’s company communications may frame using different genres in reporting.

The words ‘Volkswagen’, ‘emissions’ ‘engines’, ‘diesel’, ‘affected’ and ‘vehicles’ suggest the company’s communications frame the scandal in light of these terms. These words also suggest Volkswagen company communications might employ a technical frame to discuss the specific issues with their vehicles.

The word ‘CO₂’ could have two meanings. First, it could be used to refer to the emissions issues and their impacts on the environment. If this is the case, the company might be framing environmental issues, or it could be using it as a ‘safe word’ for the company. Volkswagen could, for example, be talking about something as uncontroversial as an air particle. CO₂ could be euphemistic in the sense that it allows the company to talk about

something that's difficult to talk about. It is delicate way of describing the issue; a strategy that can be expected from a company under such pressure.

A major difference between Volkswagen's reporting and the newspaper reports is that the headlines the company employs are not as descriptive as the newspapers' headlines. Often, company reporting headlines do not frame as explicitly as newspapers because the company's communications titles have the job of both announcing a message and representing its contents. The headline is not summing the story or framing the event so much. It is not quite as significant as for newspapers so framing analysis must be a little more cautious, although it is still suggestive. The absence of the words 'scandal', 'US', 'UK', 'sales', 'software', 'recall' and 'Germany' draws questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.4.1.7 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

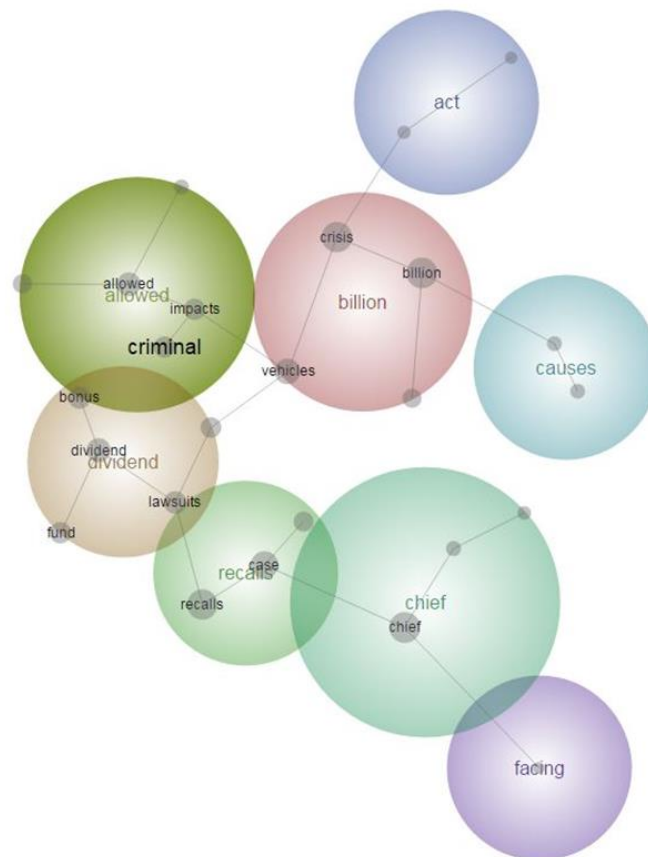


Figure 5.9 The Leximancer concept map of newspaper titles from Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

The most obvious difference between this newspaper's concept map and other newspapers' maps is the lack of the word 'Volkswagen'. This suggests *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* may not have framed accountability or involvement on the company. However, the word 'chief' appears in the map as the largest concept bubble, which suggests the newspaper may frame accountability on the chief as being a major contributor to the scandal.

Like *O GLOBO*, this newspaper's concept map (see Figure 5.8) does not show the word 'scandal' suggesting the newspaper may not frame the story in a scandalous manner. The paper has, however, used the word 'crisis', which suggests the newspaper might frame the events in a critical manner.

What is interesting in this map is the use of the word 'criminal' in bold letters and the fact that no other concept map included the word. This suggests the newspaper might frame the scandal as being a crisis involving criminal and deceitful actions. It also suggests the newspaper might have a more specific focus on who did wrong, rather than 'Volkswagen' or 'Germany' being wrong, suggesting the brand is much less implicated in Germany. The words 'impacts', 'vehicles', 'causes', 'lawsuits', 'recalls', 'case' and 'facing' suggest the newspaper may employ repercussions frames to highlight the effects of the crisis such as multiple vehicles being recalled and legal action taking place. The words 'bonus', 'dividend', 'fund' and 'billion' suggest the newspaper may frame the scandal with a focus on its financial implications. The absence of the words 'US', 'emissions', 'German', 'scandal', 'sales' and 'software' draws questions about their absence and the need for further research.

5.5 WORD FREQUENCIES

Baker, Hardie and McEnery (2006) explain that words that appear quite often and appear more frequently than in normal English language are key to the meaning of text. This is what the Leximancer concept bubbles, presented in section 5.4.1, explain. Leximancer does not focus on simple frequencies. Yet word frequency analysis has an important contribution to make in highlighting the most prevalent text elements that favour certain meanings.

Therefore this study also conducted a simple frequency analysis to add to the initial ideas presented in section 5.5 and to draw out trends to be analysed in the main framing analysis. In particular, this word frequency analysis highlights key aspects of the language that could help identify prominent frames.

The word ‘scandal’ is presented with high frequencies as shown in Table 5.2. The constant use of this word in the seven newspapers and the company’s communications suggests there is a potential for a ‘scandal frame’ to be very dominant in the story. Furthermore, the high frequency of the words ‘emission’ or ‘emissions’ and ‘diesel’, suggest an environmental frame could potentially be a dominant frame in the story. Interestingly, Table 5.2 suggests that *China Daily* and Volkswagen’s communication titles do not frame events in either a scandalous or environmental manner, as shown by the low frequencies of these words. However, these words are highlighted in *China Daily*’s and Volkswagen’s concept maps, but only as smaller words within the Volkswagen concept bubble. This suggests that *China Daily* and Volkswagen might contradict other countries stories by placing less emphasis on these aspects of the story. This also suggests that *China Daily* and Volkswagen might consider these aspects to be less important than most countries.

The frequency figures for Volkswagen’s use of the words ‘supervisory’, ‘statement’, ‘board’, ‘group’ and ‘Matthias Müller’ and the fact that Volkswagen is the only ‘player’ associated with these words supports the suggestions made in the discussion of Volkswagen’s Leximancer table. These suggestions were that Volkswagen framed the story with a focus on the institution and management, whereas the newspapers seldom report about Volkswagen’s internal practices.

The words ‘chief’, ‘CEO’, and ‘boss’ have high frequencies for Volkswagen’s company communications and every newspaper except *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *O GLOBO*.

These high frequencies, which align with the concept bubbles in the Leximancer maps, suggest that there is a potential dominant accepting accountability frame. The absence of these words from the other two newspapers suggests their placement of accountability either differs from the rest of the newspapers or accountability is low priority frame. This also aligns with these two newspapers concept bubbles presented in section 5.4.1. In Table 5.2, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is the only newspaper that mentions the CEO, Martin Winterkorn, by name. This differs diametrically from the Leximancer tables which show *The Sydney Morning Herald* as the sole communicator to mention the CEO by name. Given that the methodologies point in different directions, questions remain regarding how these newspapers framed Martin Winterkorn's involvement in the scandal, which can be answered only with further research.

As discussed in the section introducing the Leximancer tables, suggestions were made regarding newspapers framing around localisation of the scandal. Table 5.2 aligns with this suggestion since the table shows the words 'UK', 'China', 'India', and 'Australia' are used only by the corresponding country. The word 'US', however, has high frequencies in every other newspaper, which makes sense because this was where the scandal was initiated. In the frequency table, Volkswagen, however, makes no reference to the US, aligning with the suggestions made in Volkswagen's Leximancer table regarding framing with a focus internally on the company.

Table 5.2 shows variations in the words, which suggests that when analyzing framing the researcher needs to analyse not just globally, but also with a focus on national framing. Different frames are used in different countries, e.g., software is mentioned in only in titles in *O GLOBO* suggesting a technical frame used by only one country; future is used only in China also suggesting a loan future frame. There is also a variation of framing towards voices within the story, instead of localization framing. *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* show strong frequency in the use of the words 'say', 'says', and 'said' suggesting these newspapers frame the scandal internationally.

The word frequency analysis produced high frequencies of simple content words, such as 'car' and 'cars'. This highlights the obvious association with the words 'Volkswagen', 'VW',

“Volkswagen AG’ and ‘Volks’. Since this is the company’s product, it makes sense these word are present in the story.

The results presented in the Leximancer concept maps and the NVivo word frequencies analysis suggest that there is a centrality of the scandal, suggestions that some frames remain consistent over time and place, that there are national differences in some frames, and that there is a very wide gap in the framing between newspapers and Volkswagen. The words presented in both analyses vary, simply because of the quantity of stories. This section acknowledges the proportionality of these words, even though one newspaper with fewer articles has a small word frequency it still does not explain why a newspaper with more articles has no word frequencies. This section, along with the previous section highlights the need for further answers, which a framing analysis can begin to achieve. The framing analysis, which will be presented in the next section, involves a more in-depth analysis allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of how the scandal was framed by both the media and Volkswagen.

Chapter 5- RESULTS

Table 5.2 Word frequencies of newspaper titles

<i>Word (Number of counts)</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen, VW, Volkswagen AG, Volks,	166	146	82	38	91	79	178	60
Scandal	86	33	33	8	20	23	40	6
Emission, emissions	82	39	21	6	31	14	47	8
Car, cars	30	14	12	0	11	8	17	
US	22	13	14	4	12	13	36	0
UK	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Say, says, said	18	14	0	0	0	9	0	0
Chief, CEO, boss	30	15	0	6	9	0	26	10
Diesel	13	30	13	0	12	0	29	10
Cheat, cheating	0	15	0	6	0	0	0	0
Recall	0	8	0	0	13	0	28	0
Billion	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Australia	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
German, Germany	0	0	7	3	0	7	0	0
Action	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0
New	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
Future	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	15	0	0	0
Fix, fixes, fixed	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0
Fraud	0	0	0	0	0	21	0	0
Sale, sales	0	0	0	0	0	11	0	0
Software	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0
Affair	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
Winterkorn	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	0
Group	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
Board	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
Statement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
Supervisory	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Matthias Müller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7

5.6 FRAMING COMPARISON

This section presents the results of the framing analysis. These results are addressed in four subsections, building on the preliminary findings above. The first subsection looks at the overall framing across the seven chosen newspapers; it identifies the overall dominant frames and provides examples of them. This subsection discusses the media's overall coverage. The second subsection explores in greater depth the national differences suggested in the preliminary analysis, also identifying dominant frames and providing examples. The third subsection explores in greater depth the national differences suggested in the preliminary analysis, examining framing over time. It looks at the distribution of frames and whether these align or differ across the media and Volkswagen. The fourth and final subsection examines the framing of Volkswagen's company communications by using examples to identify how the company engaged with or ignored the media's frames.

Throughout these subsections, new outside voices are introduced into the story through examples from the seven different newspapers. These voices include, but are not limited to, outside countries, customers, dealers, national governments and other organisations whose voices enter the story as having some sort of involvement in the scandal. Overall, the media introduce voices from 19 different countries including the United States, Europe, Australia, India, China, Brazil and Germany, which corresponds with the regions from where the chosen newspapers for this research originate.

5.6.1 OVERALL FRAMING

This research has identified 69 distinct frames (see Appendix 10.1). This section draws on these frames and identifies the most dominant frames that were consistently used, distinctively in a few places, or during different stages of the story. The 10 dominant frames are: the company accountability, individual accountability, legal, investigative, repercussions, accepting accountability, staff restructuring, scandal, solution, and deception frames. Other frames identified in this study are not significant as overall dominant frames because they either occurred only a few select times or did not show a strong pattern in the story.

The company accountability frame is a dominant frame was used consistently throughout the entire story. This frame was used at high frequencies by most newspapers and was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's company communications. *The*

Guardian used this frame 59 times, *The New York Times* 34 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 19 times, *China Daily* 6 times, the *Times of India* 3 times, *O GLOBO* 27 times, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 44 times in their reporting; Volkswagen used it twice in its communications. This frame was particularly dominant in the early stages when the story broke and the media were trying to hold the company accountable for its actions. This was often achieved with the frame being accompanied by outside voices entering the story because national governments and agencies were also trying to hold the company accountable. For example, *The Guardian* used a company accountability frame on 26 November, 2015, to talk about South Korea ordering Volkswagen to recall 125,522 cars affected by the scandal (South Korea orders Volkswagen to recall, 2015). *O GLOBO* used this frame on 24 September, 2015, saying that Volkswagen was severely shaken but the company was now at the beginning of a long and painful series of corrective actions. It also said that France and the UK would be testing Volkswagen vehicles (Por causa de fraude da Volkswagen, França e [Because of fraud by Volkswagen, France], 2015)

The individual accountability frame is another dominant frame constantly used throughout the story; it was particularly dominant in the early stages when the media wanted to place blame on (a) particular individual(s) within the company. The frame was used with high frequency in half of the selected newspapers. *The Guardian* employed this frame 12 times, *The New York Times* 13 times, *O GLOBO* 7 times and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* used the frame 15 times in their reporting. For example, *The New York Times* used this frame on 24 September, 2015, to say that Volkswagen's problems started at the boardroom since all decisions were influenced by one family, the government and labour (Stewart, 2015). *China Daily* used this frame on 25 July, 2016, saying that senior executives, including former CEO Martin Winterkorn, covered up evidence during the emissions scandal (Three US states sue VW, 2016).

The investigative frame is another dominant frame that was introduced in the start of the story when the media reported the company was coming under investigation for cheating diesel emissions tests. This frame is then scattered throughout the story, appearing when new voices enter the story, as countries launch new investigations into the company as a result of a second software, an issue being found, or an individual being found to have involvement in the scandal. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's

company communications; it was used at high frequencies in over half of the newspapers. *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and the *Times of India* all employed this frame 13 times, *O GLOBO* 9 times and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 20 times in their reporting. For example, *The Sydney Morning Herald* used this frame on 9 October, 2015, saying that US regulators had started a second investigation into another computer program that affects emissions in Volkswagen's diesel vehicles (Bradsher & Ivory, 2015). *The Guardian* used this frame on 24 September, 2015, saying that the UK, France and Germany had lobbied against inconsistent car emissions tests (Neslen, 2015).

The media introduced the legal frame a couple of months into the story when countries such as the US and Australia started to initiate lawsuits; the frame becomes quite dominant towards the end when multiple lawsuits emerge and settlements started to take shape. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's company communications and at high frequencies. *The Guardian* employed this frame 12 times, *The New York Times* 28 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 9 times, the *Times of India* 8 times, *O GLOBO* 7 times and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 30 times in their reporting. A legal frame is almost always accompanied by a company accountability frame or an individual accountability frame. For example, the *Times of India* used a legal frame on 4 November, 2015, saying that India's government would issue notice to Volkswagen after "significant variations" had been found after testing by the Automotive Research Association of India (ARAI) (Government to issue notice to Volkswagen, 2015). *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* used this frame on 21 September, 2015, saying that Volkswagen is facing legal action in the US (Prantl, 2015).

The accepting accountability frame is very dominant at the start of the media reporting because Volkswagen immediately apologised for the scandal. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's company communications; it was also used at high frequencies. *The Guardian* employed the frame 21 times, *The New York Times* 25 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 9 times, *China Daily* 6 times, the *Times of India* 10 times, *O GLOBO* 15 times, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 31 times in their reporting and Volkswagen used it 12 times in its company communications. This frame was used in stages. First, the media used it to report on the acceptance and apologies from Volkswagen. For example, on 22 September, 2015, the *Times of India* reported Volkswagen's US CEO,

Michael Horn, apologising saying “we totally screwed up” (Sheffield, 2015). This frame then changes how it is used to the company acknowledging the severity of the scandal by talking about how many affected cars will need to be recalled and fixed. For example, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* used this frame on 29 September 2015 by reporting that Volkswagen is recalling affected vehicles to its workshops to be fixed, as Volkswagen’s Chief of Branding stated “We have come up with several solutions, of course the focus lies on the customers specifically at the moment” (Abgas-Skandal: VW ruft fünf Millionen [Emissions-scandal: VW calls five million], 2015). This frame changes further as it was used to introduce compensation to affected customers, e.g., on 15 August, 2015, *The New York Times* reported that US car owners will receive compensation of about \$20,000 per car affected by the scandal (Ewing, 2015f). Finally, this frame changed when it was used to acknowledge Volkswagen’s agreement to settle lawsuits against it, e.g., on 28 June, 2015, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Volkswagen will settle its emissions scandal case for \$14.7 billion (USD), which was the largest pay out by a car maker to consumers in US history (VW's US tab said to grow to \$20 billion, 2016).

The Staff restructuring frame is scattered throughout the story. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen’s company communications, and at high frequencies. *The Guardian* employed the frame 10 times, *The New York Times* 13 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 5 times, *China Daily*, *Times of India*, *O GLOBO* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 7 times in their reporting and Volkswagen used it 8 times in its company communications. The media used the frame when Volkswagen’s staffing changed either through resignations, suspensions or new staff appointments. This frame was used to frame movements within the company, specifically its internal processes throughout the scandal. The media also uses this frame to show Volkswagen’s hiring process within and rotating jobs as part of the company’s future. For example, 15 October, 2015, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* used this frame to report Volkswagen’s CEO saying “We have to redo the culture and the comprehension of leadership in the corporation” (Volkswagen ruft Europaweit 8.5 millionen diesel zurück [Volkswagen recalls 8.5 million diesel across Europe], 2015). *The Guardian* used this frame on 20 December, 2015, to report that Volkswagen’s CEO planned to rotate jobs within the company to boost future oversight (VW chief plans job rotation, 2015).

The repercussions frame is used consistently throughout the story. The frame was initially used to state the possible repercussions of the story. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers, as well as Volkswagen's company communications and at high frequencies by the newspapers. *The Guardian* employed this frame 22 times, *The New York Times* 14 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 9 times, *China Daily* and the *Times of India* 5 times, *O GLOBO* 18 times and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 34 times in their reporting. For example, 25 September, 2015, *China Daily* reported that Volkswagen may find it hard to retain its brand image and sales record in China, its biggest global market (Fusheng & Zhengzheng, 2015). After the media used investigative frames and legal frames, the repercussions frame was used to identify the final outcome of Volkswagen's actions. For example, on 26 June, 2016, *The New York Times* reported that the settlement for the diesel emissions scandal would cost the company \$10 billion, including financial compensation for car owners (Tabuchi, 2016).

The scandal frame is used consistently throughout the story. The frame was initially used when the scandal first broke to inform the public of its occurrence. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers, as well as Volkswagen's company communication; and at high frequencies by all. *The Guardian* employed this frame 87 times, *The New York Times* 36 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 33 times, *China Daily* 8 times, the *Times of India* 20 times, *O GLOBO* 23 times, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 40 times in their reporting and Volkswagen used it 6 times throughout its company communications. For example, 18 September, 2015, *The Guardian* reported that Volkswagen was under investigation for cheating diesel emissions tests (Neate, 2015a). *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* used this frame on 20 July, 2016, when it reported that Volkswagen faced further billion dollar fines as a result of the emissions scandal (Volkswagen rechnet mit weiteren milliardenstrafen [Volkswagen counts on further billion], 2016).

The solution frame is similar to the repercussions frame because it was consistently used throughout the story but is initially framed differently from the end of the story. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's company communications; it was used at high frequencies by all. *The Guardian* employed this frame 33 times, *The New York Times* 39 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 19 times, *China Daily* 10 times, the *Times of India* 36 times, *O GLOBO* 19 times, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 54 times in their reporting. Volkswagen used it 34 times throughout its company communications. The media

used this frame through different people's voices as they asked the company to clear up the emissions scandal. For example, 21 September, 2015, *The Guardian* reported the German minister telling Volkswagen to clear up the emissions scandal (Rushe, 2015d). The frame then changed as the media used it to report Volkswagen promising to find a solution for the scandal. An example of this was seen on 10 December, 2015, as *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported Volkswagen CEO, Matthias Müller, saying that he gave his word that Volkswagen would not rest until it had uncovered the whole truth (Fromm, 2015). Finally, at the end of the story, the media used solution framing to report what was being done to resolve the scandal, i.e., recalls and compensation. An example of this was on 14 August, 2016, as *O GLOBO* reported that Volkswagen would repair 460,000 vehicles affected by the emissions scandal (Bimmer, 2016).

The deception frame occurred at different points within the story. This frame was employed by all seven newspapers as well as Volkswagen's company communications, and at high frequencies by six newspapers. *The Guardian* employed this frame 31 times, *The New York Times* 29 times, *The Sydney Morning Herald* 10 times, the *Times of India* 12 times, *O GLOBO* 15 times, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 28 times in their reporting. The media use the deception frame when a new piece of evidence surfaced or a new accusation was placed on the company or an individual showed more deceptive behaviour. The deception frame is almost always accompanied by either a company or an individual accountability frame or an investigative frame, showing the media are reporting on holding someone's behaviour/actions accountable or that there are investigations into the new deceptive behaviour/action. For example, 28 September, 2015, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Volkswagen staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke (Cremer & Scherer, 2015). Another example of this can be seen on 3 March, 2016, as the *Times of India* reported that the former CEO of Volkswagen, Martin Winterkorn, reportedly received emails about the company's emissions crisis a year before it became public (Volkswagen CEO was emailed about emissions, 2016).

5.6.2 NATIONAL FRAMING

As stated in the previous section, this study has identified 69 distinct frames (Appendix 10.1). This section draws upon these frames and identifies the most dominant, significant frames that were consistently used, distinctively in a few places, or during different stages of the

story. This section also identifies the frames that were not used in each newspaper, along with interesting patterns, similarities and differences across all seven newspapers. The preliminary analysis showed that there were major differences between countries in how frames were used and which ones were absent; this is presented in the section below.

5.6.2.1 THE GUARDIAN

After examining 165 of *The Guardian's* articles that report the Volkswagen emissions scandal, 10 dominant frames emerged. These frames are: the company accountability, deception, individual accountability, legal, investigative, accepting accountability, repercussions, scandal, solution and staff restructuring frames. *The Guardian's* leading frame was the scandal frame, since it was used 87/165 times; the second leading frame was the company accountability frame, which was used 55/165 times. This aligns with the inferences from *The Guardian's* Leximancer concept map (Figure 5.2) and word frequencies in Table 5.2 that suggested *The Guardian* reported around the centrality of the word 'scandal' as the dominant frame and the centre of meaning.

Examples of these dominant frames include: *The Guardian's* use of the scandal frame, which can be seen in its first publication on the Volkswagen emissions scandal; this was also the first time it introduced the company accountability frame and a deception frame. The article was published on 18 September, 2015, and said that Volkswagen was under investigation for using illegal software that masks emissions levels in its diesel engines and the US was ordering a big recall (Neate, 2015a). This article and its corresponding frames match those of *The New York Times*. The newspaper's introduction of an individual accountability frame was on 22 September, 2015, as the article described CEO Martin Winterkorn's actions over dismissal as he refused to resign and Winterkorn's apology in face of the company's international uproar (Ruddick, 2015d). This newspaper's introduction of a legal frame was on 23 September, 2015, when it compared the Volkswagen emissions scandal with the BP oil spill scandal; Volkswagen hired the BP lawyers to defend the company in the emissions cases (Ruddick, 2015b). The first time the newspaper introduced an investigative frame was on 22 September, 2015, as the United Kingdom called for the European Union to initiate investigations into the emissions scandal (Wearden & Fletcher, 2015a). The first time this newspaper introduces an accepting accountability frame was on 20 September, 2015, when it reported the Volkswagen CEO apologising for breaking public

trust (Rushe, 2015c). A repercussions frame was introduced on 22 September, 2015, in explaining how the scandal had affected Volkswagen's sales and shares (Rushe, 2015b); this matches the introduction of this frame in *The New York Times* (Ewing, 2015b) and *O GLOBO* (Bocsi, 2015b). A solution frame was introduced on 21 September, 2015, when a German minister asked Volkswagen to clear up the scandal (Rushe, 2015d). Finally, a staff restructuring frame was introduced on 22 September, 2015, when the paper stated that Volkswagen wanted Martin Winterkorn to move aside for someone else to take over (Pratley, 2015). This is similar to the frame used in *The New York Times* as it introduced Martin Winterkorn's resignation from the company (Ewing, 2015d).

Three interesting frames that *The Guardian* did not use in its reporting are the change of subject frame, the historic frame and the redemption frame. The absence of the change of subject frame shows that the newspaper stayed close to the main points of the story, providing little detail; this is also seen in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* reporting. The fact that there is no use of an historic frame shows that the newspaper did not organise its coverage around the idea that this scandal, or its effects, would go down in history. The absence of an historic frame is also seen in the reporting by *China Daily*. *The Guardian* is the only newspaper that did not employ a redemption frame. This suggests that the newspaper is resistant towards Volkswagen's attempts at redemption; this newspaper's absence of brand development and company development frames align with this assumption. The newspaper is not aligned with the company's communications.

Alongside dominant frames, the absence of frames popular in other newspapers provides interesting insights into the way *The Guardian* frames the story. For example, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* are the only newspapers to use a betrayal frame that introduce the voices of Volkswagen's customers and shareholders. An example can be seen in an article published by *The Guardian* on 24 September 2015 that employs this frame to discuss the way Volkswagen drivers feel about the situation, saying they feel "cheated and annoyed" (Bachelor, 2015). *The Guardian* is the only newspaper that used a brand loyalty frame to show that there was still trust in Volkswagen. This can be seen in an article published on 20 October, 2015, that stated that two-thirds of Germans still trusted Volkswagen after the scandal (Löhr, 2015b). *The Guardian*, *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* all adopt comparison frames to compare the Volkswagen

emissions scandal with other deceitful actions and/or behaviours. These three newspapers compared the Volkswagen scandal with a need for corporate culture change resembling Exxon, and a comparison with the BP oil spill and Enron scandals (Currie & Storbeck, 2015; Sukhdev, 2015; Tovey, 2015a).

Further interesting observations include the use of a criminal frame by both *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*. No other newspaper frames the actions of either the company or the individuals involved in a criminal way. An example can be seen in an article published on 30 September, 2015, as Volkswagen's director said that staff acted criminally (Farrell, 2015). *The Guardian* and the *Times of India* are the only newspapers to use a denial frame. These two newspapers shift framing towards Volkswagen's denial of the allegations made against it. An article published on 15 October, 2015, refers to Volkswagen's UK chief denying cars in the UK emit high pollution (Carrington, 2015). *The Guardian* and *China Daily* use a fear frame. An example is the Volkswagen manager's refusal to travel to the US out of fear of prosecution. It is interesting that this newspaper has framed the emotions of Volkswagen managers as being fearful to deal with the fallout of their actions (Volkswagen managers afraid to travel, 2015). Finally, an interesting insight into the framing of the Volkswagen emissions scandal by *The Guardian* newspaper, supported by *The New York Times* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*, is their use of a health frame. No other newspaper frames the emissions scandal in terms of the effects on people's health. An example is in an article highlighting that the Volkswagen emissions scandal was estimated to cause 59 premature US deaths (Vaughan, 2015).

Throughout *The Guardian's* reporting, different voices from outside countries present themselves in the story. These voices are from: UK, France, US, Australia, Switzerland, Italy, China, South Korea and Germany. The introduction of these voices shows the newspaper is telling the story from more than one perspective, since it includes the perspectives of other countries. It also identifies the countries this newspaper reports as being affected by the scandal.

5.6.2.2 THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ten dominant frames emerged from examination of the 151 *The New York Times'* articles that reported on the Volkswagen emissions scandal. These frames are: company

accountability, deception, individual accountability, legal, investigative, accepting accountability, repercussions, scandal, solution and staff restructuring frames. These frames are identical to the dominant frames used in *The Guardian*. However, *The New York Times*'s leading frame was a solution frame, since it was used 39/151 times; its second leading frame was the scandal frame, used 36/151 times. These results differ from the inferences in *The New York Times* Leximancer concept map (Figure 5.3) and word frequencies in Table 5.2, which suggested *The Guardian* reported around the centrality of the word 'Volkswagen'. This suggests a company accountability frame would have been a leading frame. These results align with the scandal concept bubble and the high frequency of the word scandal being a dominant frame in this newspaper. However, this newspaper frames more towards a solution to the scandal than expected.

Examples of these dominant frames include: *The New York Times* using an individual accountability frame is seen on 24 September, 2015, as the newspaper reports that Volkswagen's problems started at the boardroom, since all decisions are influenced by one family, the government and labour (Stewart, 2015). *The New York Times* introduced an investigative frame on 24 September, 2015, introducing South Korean and Brazilian voices into the story. The article reported that Europe has opened investigations, US has joined federal inquiries and there is criticism over Volkswagen vehicles in the South Korean and Brazilian markets (Hakim & Bradsher, 2015). The accepting accountability frame was introduced on 22 September, 2015, as Volkswagen stated that because of its deception 11 million cars had been affected worldwide (Ewing, 2015c). This newspaper introduced the solution frame on 19 September, 2015, as the US ordered a major recall after Volkswagen's emission test trickery. The selection of language in this article is interesting, especially the word 'trickery' since the newspaper framed the story to suggest Volkswagen's actions were intentional in that it knew what it was doing (Davenport & Ewing, 2015).

The Guardian and *The New York Times* have the most coverage and the widest range of frames. Their framing tends to be closer to the overall framing of the story, which suggests they are playing a significant global role in the reporting/framing of the story. As both these newspapers have an international readership, they have a somewhat authoritative framing since they are leading the reporting. This is supported by their identical dominant frames.

Three frames that *The New York Times* did not use throughout its reporting are the future, industry issue and communication frames. The absence of a future frame was also seen in the *Times of India*; this suggests these newspapers are reporting only on the present events of the scandal not their future effects, nor the future of the company after the scandal. The absence of an industry issue frame is also seen in reporting by *China Daily* and *O GLOBO*. All the other newspapers report on other car manufacturers either being affected by the emissions scandal or performing similar acts of deceptive behaviour. The lack of a communication frame is also seen in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. This suggests these newspapers placed less emphasis on Volkswagen communicating with other countries and more emphasis on how the emissions scandal had affected their own country. This is reinforced in *The Sydney Morning Herald*'s Leximancer concept map (Figure 5.4) where a large concept bubble shows the involvement of Australia.

Alongside the dominant frames, the absence of frames popular in other newspapers provides interesting insights into the way *The New York Times* framed the story. For example, *The New York Times* and the *Times of India* are the only newspapers to use a global issue frame; this suggests these newspapers place importance on the global impact of the scandal. An example of this frame is seen on 24 September, 2015, since, the after the Volkswagen revelation, auto emissions tests have come under global scrutiny (Hakim & Bradsher, 2015). Another interesting insight into the way *The New York Times* framed the story is that this newspaper has the highest frequency of the environmental frame. This suggests that *The New York Times* placed most importance on the impact the scandal had on the environment, e.g., on 24 September 2015 the newspaper reported that Volkswagen advertises 'top-notch clean diesel' cars that are fuel efficient, powerful and compliant with emissions standards for pollutants, which has been found to be a false claim (Tufekci, 2015).

Throughout *The New York Times* reporting, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices are from: US, China, South Korea, Brazil, France, Canada and Germany. As stated in relation to *The Guardian*, the introduction of these voices shows the newspaper is telling the story from more than one perspective, because it includes the perspective of other countries. It also identifies the countries this newspaper reported as being affected by the scandal. *The New York Times* reported similar voices, but there was an absence of the UK, Australian and Swiss voices. Instead, *The New York Times*

reported voices from Brazil and Canada. As *The New York Times* appears to be a leading newspaper in the reporting this scandal, it is strange that the UK voice is absent; this can be explained only by further research. The addition of the Canadian voice is logical since Canada and the United States are close countries.

5.6.2.3 THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD

After examining 85 of *The Sydney Morning Herald* articles which reported the Volkswagen emissions scandal, seven dominant frames emerged. These frames are: company accountability, deception, lack of awareness, legal, repercussions, scandal and solution frames. Like *The Guardian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald's* leading frame was the scandal frame; it was used 33/85 times. This newspaper's second leading frames were the solution frame and company accountability frame with 19/85 times used each.

Examples of these dominant frames include this newspaper introducing the company accountability frame in its first publication on 21 September, 2015, reporting that the EPA stated Volkswagen could face up to \$18 billion (USD) in fines as a result of cheating emissions tests (Gardner & Bernie, 2015). This frame was then followed by the introduction of a scandal frame and a solution frame on 22 September, 2015, reporting that Volkswagen would set aside \$7.3 billion (USD) to cover the costs of the scandal (Reiter, 2015). *The Sydney Morning Herald* introduced a deception frame into the story on 27 September, 2015, reporting that Volkswagen's deceit may have forced Europe's car manufacturers to concentrate on hybrid and electric cars (Bershidsky, 2015). A legal frame was introduced on 26 September, 2015, affecting Volkswagen's Australia customers as Maurice Blackburn (a leading class action law firm) announced an investigation into a potential consumer law case against Volkswagen (Volkswagen scandal: Class action, 2015). *The Sydney Morning Herald* differed from other newspapers because it highlighted the fact the country was left unaware of the scandal's happenings. This was shown in a lack of awareness frame, for example, on 23 September, 2015, when the newspaper reported that Australia was unaware if it had been affected by the scandal so it was demanding answers from Volkswagen (Charlwood, 2015). Finally, this newspaper introduced a repercussions frame on 24 September, 2015, by reporting that the Volkswagen emissions scandal was estimated to cost the company \$18 billion in the US alone (Knight, 2015).

The Sydney Morning Herald's most dominant frames are somewhat aligned with the overall framing of the story, but this newspaper has a strong focus on framing the repercussions of the story as well as framing the lack of communication between Volkswagen and Australia. In *The Sydney Morning Herald's* Leximancer concept map (Figure 5.4), there was an interesting link between the newspaper's country of origin and Volkswagen. In conjunction with the concept of a scandal, the map suggested a new found relationship formed around the scandal, which is consistent with what we see in the newspaper reporting. The lack of awareness framing and the repercussions framing suggests the country had many repercussions as a result of the scandal but Volkswagen was not in communication regarding how it will provide a solution. Also, *The Sydney Morning Herald* framing the coverage in terms of Volkswagen not being in communication, shows there was criticism of the company by the newspaper. Furthermore, the larger Australian concept bubble highlighted in Figure 5.4 along with the high frequency of the world 'Australia' in Table 5.2 and the results presented here, suggest the newspaper's localisation of the story, i.e., reporting how the country was affected by the scandal.

Three interesting frames that *The Sydney Morning Herald* did not use throughout its reporting are the apologetic, authoritarian and cooperation frames. The absence of a cooperation frame aligns with the framing of a lack of awareness frame since Australia was often left in the dark during the scandal. This also aligns with an absence of the apologetic frame since Australia did not receive an apology from Volkswagen as a result of a lack of communication. *The Sydney Morning Herald* also did not employ an authoritarian frame because the newspaper's reporting is more directed at placing accountability on Volkswagen not its individual employees.

Alongside the dominant frames, the absence of frames popular in other newspapers provide interesting insights into the way *The Sydney Morning Herald* framed the story. For example, *The Sydney Morning Herald* is the only newspaper to employ a clarification frame. This is because the country was left in the dark during the scandal and therefore demanded answers from Volkswagen. An example is seen in an article published on 23 September, 2015, reporting that Australia was in the dark as it waited for official clarification (Lynch, 2015). Another interesting insight into the way *The Sydney Morning Herald* framed the story is its use of a spotlight frame, along with *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* reporting, as it

framed the story by introducing the voice of Hollywood. This was seen in an article published on 14 October, 2015, reporting that US movie studio Paramount Pictures and actor Leonardo DiCaprio's production company wanted to make a movie about the Volkswagen emissions scandal (Emissions to transmissions: Hollywood, 2015).

Throughout *The New York Times* reporting, different voices, from outside countries, were presented in the story. These voices were from: US, Australia, Europe, Switzerland and Germany. *The Sydney Morning Herald's* reporting of outside voices is similar to *The Guardian's*. However, there was an absence of the US voice, which is interesting since this voice is from the country in which the scandal initially broke. The absence of this voice emphasises the idea of reporting the overall story but having a stronger sense of localised reporting, which was introduced earlier in this study.

5.6.2.4 CHINA DAILY

After examining 50 of *China Daily's* articles that reported the Volkswagen emissions scandal, five dominant frames emerged. These frames are: the change of subject, prospective, solution, redemption and scandal frames. *China Daily's* leading frames dramatically contrast with those of the other newspapers; its leading frame was a change of subject frame, which was used 18/50 times. The second leading frame was a prospective frame used 14/50 times. These results align with the results presented in *China Daily's* Leximancer concept map (see Fig. 5.5) and the word frequencies in Table 5.2; these words suggest that *China Daily* framed the scandal in a different light from other newspapers, which is what this section's results also suggest.

Examples of these dominant frames can be seen when *China Daily* introduced a scandal frame in its first publication on 22 September, 2015, in reporting that Volkswagen would dismiss CEO, Martin Winterkorn, over an emissions scandal (VW to dismiss CEO, 2015). A change of subject frame was introduced very early in the story; it first introduced this frame on 13 November, 2015, in reporting that the Phaeton, a Volkswagen luxury model, was serving as the official car for the orchestra's tour in China (Fusheng, 2015). The newspaper then introduced prospective, redemption and solution frames on 23 November, 2015, by reporting that the Volkswagen Group China's sights were set firmly on new-energy vehicles through electric cars (Ti, 2015).

China Daily's framing is strikingly different from the overall framing of the story. Although it does focus on a scandal and solution framing, it has a stronger focus on different, off-subject stories and future proposals. Not only does *China Daily* report less on the scandal, it tends to report more in terms of a limited number of frames. This is seen in its choice of dominant frames, most stories are framed in terms of different subjects or future prospects. An example is an article published on 29 September, 2015, asking if the Volkswagen emissions scandal had created a future for electric cars (Does Volkswagen case mean start of electric car age?, 2015).

Two interesting frames that *China Daily* did not use in its reporting are a crisis frame and a victim frame. *China Daily* is the only newspaper not to use a crisis frame; this is not surprising given the lack of reporting focussing on the scandal. The absence of a victim frame, which is also seen in *O GLOBO* and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* reporting, is interesting since it suggests these newspapers associate the victims of the scandal, mainly the customers and the dealers, as being less important.

Alongside the dominant frames, the absence of frames popular in other newspapers provides interesting insights into the way *China Daily* framed the story. For example, a brand development frame is used only by *China Daily* (Zhengzheng & Fushengand, 2015) *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (VW will zukunftsstechnologien vorantreiben [VW wants to advance technologies of the future], 2015), a new beginning frame and a partnership frame are used only by *China Daily* (Besieged Volkswagen CEO quits, 2015) and *O GLOBO* (Red Bull conversou com Volkswagen [Red Bull talked to Volkswagen], 2015); *China Daily* is the only newspaper to use a prospective frame (Does Volkswagen case mean start of electric car age?, 2015). These frames suggest the newspaper is concerned with the future business relationship between the country and Volkswagen, more so than the effects of the scandal. The newspaper is very dismissive of the events that transpired from the scandal; since they do not seem to have much of an effect on the country, the newspaper doesn't report them. This also suggests a localisation of stories since only those affecting the country, apart from a select few key international events, seem to be reported. This shows that *China Daily's* reporting showing the scandal is not developed through a number of subsidiary frames with

the use of the repercussions, new beginnings and prospective frames; it's reporting quickly moved on from the scandal.

Throughout *China Daily's* reporting, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices were from: South Korea, US, China and Germany. The reporting of these outside countries' voices was similar to *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* reporting, which shows reporting on the overall framing of the story. However, *China Daily* has a stronger focus towards localised reporting, which is similar to the reporting in *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

5.6.2.5 TIMES OF INDIA

After examining 94 of the *Times of India* articles that report on the Volkswagen emissions scandal, six dominant frames emerged. These frames are: a legal, investigative, deception, solution, change of subject and scandal frames. The *Times of India's* leading frames match the *The New York Times'* leading frames with solution framing as the leading frame, 36/94 times, and the second leading frame being the scandal frame with 20/94 times.

Examples of these dominant frames include: the *Times of India* first introducing the solution frame on 15 September, 2015, reporting that Volkswagen said it would continue to evaluate the diesel engines affected by the scandal but the company had not disclosed future product decisions for the US (Volkswagen says it might not resume US sales, 2015). This newspaper then introduced investigative, scandal and deception frames in an article published on 24 September, 2015, reporting that the Indian government had initiated an investigation into possible violations and it had asked the testing agency ARAI to look into Volkswagen (Dovall, 2015b). A change of subject frame was introduced on 8 October, 2015, reporting that Volkswagen India was recalling nearly 400 units of its Polo compact cars, for "inspection and preventive repair" of the handbrake mechanism (Dovall, 2015a). Finally, a legal frame was introduced on 4 November, 2015, reporting that India's government would issue a notice to Volkswagen after "significant variations" had been found after testing by ARAI (Press Trust of India, 2015).

The *Times of India's* framing aligns with the overall framing of the story, except for a few points changing the subject through the story. This suggests the newspaper did place enough

importance on certain aspects of the story so therefore did report them. This also aligns with *China Daily's* change of subject framing. These results align with the inferences from the *Times of India* Leximancer concept map (see Fig 5.6) and the word frequencies in Table 5.2. The Leximancer concept map produced a large concept bubble for the word 'scandal' and the word frequencies emphasise words such as 'fix' and 'recall'. This further emphasises that India placed more focus on framing of scandal from a national perspective. 'India' is shown as a large concept bubble suggesting the newspaper framed its strong presence in the scandal, which aligns with the examples presented above saying that India and ARAI were conducting tests and recalls. This is similar to *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *China Daily*, suggesting the newspapers have localised the story and that the story is not about a German company but more about what the implications of that company's actions on the country.

The one interesting difference between the *Times of India* compared with the other six newspapers is that this newspaper used a humour frame during the story. An example is seen in an article published on 25 September, 2015. The article displayed a picture of Volkswagen's company logo and underneath was written 'Because one Volkswagen car emits as much as 10 autos!' (Social Humour, 2015). No other newspapers applied humour to their reporting which suggests the scandal was not highly moralised; here because it was something happening mostly far away, it can be joked about.

Throughout the *Times of India's* reporting, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices are from: India, US, South Korea, Spain and Germany. The reporting of these outside countries voices is similar to *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* reporting, which shows the reporting was on the overall framing of the story. However, the *Times of India* has a stronger focus on localised reporting, which is similar to the reporting in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *China Daily*.

5.6.2.6 O GLOBO

After examining 82 *O GLOBO* articles reporting the Volkswagen emissions scandal, six dominant frames emerged. These frames are: a company accountability, accepting accountability, deception, investigative, scandal, solution and repercussions frames. *O GLOBO's* leading frames are similar to *The Guardian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, with the leading company accountability framing having

27/82 times and a scandal frame as the second leading frame with 23/82 times. *O GLOBO*'s dominant framing aligns pretty closely with the overall framing of the story. Furthermore, these dominant frames match the suggestions presented in the *O GLOBO*'s Leximancer concept map (see Fig. 5.7) and the word frequencies in Table 5.2. The suggestions were that the newspaper may have highlighted the negative implications of the scandal on both Volkswagen and Germany; this suggestion aligns with the leading dominant frames placing accountability for the scandal on Volkswagen.

Examples of these dominant frames include: the company accountability, deception, and solution frames were introduced on 20 September, 2015, with the newspaper report that Volkswagen would have to recall half a million cars affected by the scandal in the US (Bocsi, 2015a). The accepting accountability and scandal frames were then introduced on 23 September, 2015, as the newspaper reported that Martin Winterkorn left in the middle of the scandal saying "Volkswagen needs a fresh start — also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation" (Bensch, 2015).

The one interesting difference between the *O GLOBO* and the other six newspapers is that this newspaper uses an accidental frame during the story. An example is seen in an article published on 22 September, 2015, reporting that the initial findings that uncovered Volkswagens emissions cheating were discovered by chance in university laboratories of Morgantown, a city of only 30,000 West Virginia (Augstein, 2015). This is the only newspaper to report this key event in the scandal. It suggests the newspaper has taken care to discover all the events of the story rather than duplicating stories published in larger international newspapers.

Throughout *O GLOBO*'s reporting, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices are from: US, UK, France, South Korea, Portugal, Spain, Brazil and Norway. The reporting of these outside countries voices is similar to *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* reporting, which shows reporting on the overall framing of the story. The addition of voices from Portugal, Spain and Norway provided interesting insights into the newspaper reporting, which can be explained only with future research.

5.6.2.7 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG

After examining 209 *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* articles that report the Volkswagen emissions scandal, eleven dominant frames emerged. These frames are: company accountability, deception, redemption, individual accountability, legal, investigative, repercussions, accepting accountability, scandal, solution and technical frames. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* matches the *Times of India* by having a solution frame as the leading frame for the newspaper. This frame was used 54/209 times; the second leading frame was the company accountability frame, which was used 44/209 times, and this frame matches *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Guardian*. These dominant frames align clearly with the word frequencies presented in Table 5.2; these words place a strong emphasis on this newspaper framing towards the company rather than an individual, which was suggested in the Leximancer concept map (see Fig. 5.8).

Examples of these dominant frames include: the investigative frame, a company accountability frame and a solution frame presented by this newspaper is seen in an article published on 21 September, 2015 (VW muss Dieselauto [Volkswagen has to end diesel], 2015). This article reported Volkswagen undergoing an external investigation and that it had been asked to find a rapid solution to fix the emissions issues. Examples of a deception frame and a redemption frame are seen in an article published on 17 October, 2015, as Volkswagen stated that “We broke the most important part of our cars: Your trust. We will not stop working until we have regained it.” and that Volkswagen was reducing the number of contract workers it used (Abgas-Skandal [Emissions-scandal], 2015). An example of this newspaper’s use of a legal frame, individual accountability frame and scandal frame is seen in an article published on 24 February, 2016, reporting that US authorities wanted to prosecute the Volkswagen CEO for his involvement in the emissions scandal (US-Anwälte wollen VW [US- Attorneys want to prosecute VW], 2016). An example of this newspaper’s use of an accepting accountability frame and a repercussions frame is seen in an article published on 21 April, 2016, reporting that Volkswagen was preparing to pay high sums in fines as a result of the emissions scandal (Analyse: Diesel-Zahltag in den USA [Analysis: Diesel- Payday in the US], 2016). Finally, an example of a technical frame used by this newspaper is seen in an article published on 21 June, 2016, reporting that Volkswagen CEO’s comments on the benefits of electric motors as opposed to diesel motors (VW-Chef Müller [VW- chief Müller], 2016a).

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung has very close alignment with the overall framing of the story. This newspaper, however, has a focus on more detailed parts of the emissions scandal story such as technical framing. There is a strong focus on company accountability framing, which aligns with *The Guardian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *O GLOBO*.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung employed four frames that provide interesting insights into the way this newspaper frames the Volkswagen emissions scandal. These four frames are used only by this newspaper and they are: a company development, disbelief, ridicule, and unrealistic frames. The use of a company development frame is interesting because the only time it is used is in a newspaper from the company's country of origin. This suggests the newspaper is trying to show the German public that Volkswagen is making positive changes to come back from the scandal. An example is seen in an article published by the newspaper on 10 December 2015 reporting that the Volkswagen emissions scandal will create major changes for the company, including product development and a new company direction (Abgas-Affäre [Emissions- affair], 2015). The use of the disbelief frame is also interesting because it again suggests the newspaper is trying to sway the public into thinking the company would never do something like this. It also suggests that the company is shocked by the outcomes of the scandal. An example is seen in an article published by the newspaper on 3 August, 2016, reporting that Bavaria has sued Volkswagen and a member of the Volkswagen board was "surprised" by this (VW-Vorstandsmitglied «überrascht» [Volkswagen member of the board "surprised"], 2016). *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* using an unrealistic frame further suggests the company is shocked by the outcomes of the scandal; an example is seen in a quote from Volkswagen's CEO, retrieved from an article published on 3 July 2016, "One does not need to be a mathematician to realize that x amounts of compensations would overcharge even VW." (VW-Chef Müller [Volkswagen- Chief Müller], 2016b). The final frame that provides interesting insights into the newspaper's framing of events is the use of the ridicule frame. This can be seen in two articles, both published on 23 September, 2016. This frame presents itself after Volkswagen was awarded the Ig Nobel Prize in Chemistry for, as an Ig Nobel official stated, "solving the problem of excessive automobile pollution emissions by automatically, electromechanically producing fewer emissions whenever the cars are being tested". (Volkswagen erhält Anti-Nobelpreis [Volkswagen receives Anti-Nobel Prize], 2016).

The ridicule frame emerged when a member of Harvard University entered the story mocking the fact that Volkswagen received the Ig Nobel prize for Chemistry for solving a problem it was part of creating in the first place. Presentation of the award suggests the newspaper was trying to show the public that Volkswagen continues to be criticised. The use of the ridicule frame is showing that people do not think that Volkswagen should be awarded a prize for fixing an issue it helped create. This frame shows that Volkswagen has become criticised in a broader sense and is now abusing science.

Throughout *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*'s reporting, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices are from: Countries within the EU, US, Canada, South Korea, Switzerland, Netherlands, China and Japan. The reporting of these voices is similar to other newspapers, but this newspaper does not report the voices from the nations in which *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *Times of India* and *O GLOBO* are found. This newspaper also reported voices from Belgium and Japan, which differs from the other newspapers.

5.6.3 FRAMING OVER TIME

After analysing the total database of 786 articles, examples been used to highlight aspects of framing over time. Of the 69 frames presented in Appendix 10.1, the following 21 dominant frames changed significantly. These frames can be described as changing in three different ways, frames are consistent throughout the story, frames that shape the way the story progresses and frames that emerge as newspapers and the company respond to new events within the story. Examples of these frames were retrieved from the seven chosen newspapers to present further findings from the framing analysis. The distribution and positioning of these frames have been examined and the results are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Framing Over Time

<i>Frames that appear consistently throughout the story</i>		
<i>Frame</i>	<i>Distribution/position</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Company accountability frame	This frame appears consistently throughout the story. Accountability is constantly placed on the company, particularly when new voices	18 September 2015: Volkswagen is under investigation for using illegal software that masks emissions levels in their diesel engines (Neate, 2015a)

	enter the story, or when new evidence is found.	<p>30 March 2016: The Federal Trade Commission has filed a lawsuit against the Volkswagen Group of America regarding their “clean diesel” advertising being deceptive (Ember, 2016).</p> <p>1 September 2016: ACCC has filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen for breaching Australia’s consumer laws and also misleading customers (Chappell, 2016).</p>
Individual accountability frame	<p>This frame appears consistently throughout the story. Accountability is constantly placed on certain individuals involved in the scandal, especially when new evidence is found, new investigations are launched or an individual admits fault.</p>	<p>23 September 2015: CEO Martin Winterkorn was summoned to the Volkswagen board to explain the falsification of US emissions tests (Volkswagen chief faces grilling, 2015).</p> <p>3 March 2016: Former CEO of Volkswagen Martin Winterkorn reportedly received emails about the company’s emissions crises a year before it became public (Volkswagen CEO was emailed about emissions, 2016).</p> <p>25 September 2016: Martin Winterkorn, former CEO of Volkswagen is under investigation for approving attempting to cover up the emissions scandal (Winterkorn soll Vertuschung gebilligt haben [Winterkorn supposed to have approved of cover-up], 2016).</p>
Investigative frame	<p>This frame appears constantly throughout the story. Once the accusations were placed against Volkswagen global investigations were conducted, new investigations were consistently launched until settlement was reached nearly one year later.</p>	<p>24 September 2015: The UK will be retesting Volkswagens vehicles as part of the investigations into the emissions scandal.</p> <p>Volkswagen owners start hiring lawyers (Wearden & Fletcher, 2015b).</p> <p>8 March 2016: German prosecutors said they have expanded their investigation to include illegal manipulation of tailpipe emissions by Volkswagen (Ewing, 2015a).</p> <p>18 September 2015: Volkswagen's Audi head of development will be suspend as part of the investigation into an emissions scandal (VW's Audi R&D head to be suspended, 2016).</p>
Scandal frame	<p>This frame appears constantly throughout the story. As the media has taken hold of the story, a scandal frame is used to constantly show the severity of Volkswagen’s actions.</p>	<p>21 September 2015: Volkswagen stocks have fallen more than 17% in the US as a result of the scandal (Bocsi, 2015b).</p> <p>28 March 2016: After an investigation, the Braunschweig</p>

		<p>department of public prosecution has accused seventeen people for involvement in the emissions scandal (VW-Skandal [VW-Scandal], 2016).</p> <p>29 August 2016: Volkswagen has agreed to spend more than \$1.2 billion to compensate 650 US dealers for their losses as a result of the scandal (VW in \$1.2b deal to compensate US dealers, 2016).</p>
Solution frame	<p>This frame is used to highlight the proposed solutions or the need for solutions throughout the story. This frame appears consistently throughout the story, particularly when Volkswagen starts to recall vehicles and provide software fixes.</p>	<p>23 April 2016: Volkswagen has set aside more than \$23 billion to cover the cost of fines, legal claims and recalls in the US (Ewing, 2016h).</p>

Frames that shape the story's progress

<i>Frame</i>	<i>Distribution/positioning</i>	<i>Example</i>
Apologetic frame	<p>This frame is expected to follow scandalous behaviour. This frame is used at the beginning of the story as the company is prompt to apologise. The frame is then used when other countries or individuals become involved.</p>	<p>22 September 2015: "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanor. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for." – Martin Winterkorn (Abgas-Krise trifft VW-Gewinn [Emission-crisis impacts VW profit], 2015).</p>
Deception frame	<p>This frame is expected following scandalous behaviour. It is used in the initial stages of the story to highlight Volkswagen's deceptive actions. The frame is then used throughout the story when new deceptive events or actions are brought to light during investigations.</p>	<p>9 September 2016: A Volkswagen engineer pleads guilty to conspiring to defraud regulators and car owners (Tabuchi & Ewing, 2016b).</p>
Legal frame	<p>This frame is expected following scandalous behaviour. It is introduced in the middle of the story as lawsuits start to take shape. The frame is then dominant towards the end of the years reporting as Volkswagen starts to reach settlement.</p>	<p>21 September 2016: A group of investors have taken Volkswagen to court for €8.2 billion as a result of the emissions scandal (Bocsi, 2016c).</p>
Accepting accountability frame	<p>This frame is expected following scandalous behaviour. This frame is used to highlight either the company or an individual accepting responsibility for their actions. This frame is used more so in the early stages of the story</p>	<p>"We were dishonest. We were dishonest to the environmental authority EPA, we were dishonest to the authorities in California and, worst of all, we were dishonest to our customers. To say it in colloquial German: we</p>

	as the company takes responsibility for the scandal, then when the Volkswagen CEO takes personal responsibility and resigns.	screwed up.” – Michael Horn ("Wir haben Mist gebaut" ["We screwed up"], 2015).
Repercussions frame	This frame is expected following scandalous behaviour. This frame is used to highlight the fallout of the scandal, mainly company business and financial losses. This frame is introduced more during the middle of the story, becoming dominant towards the end when legal action commences.	16 October 2015: Volkswagens market share has dropped in September as a result of the scandal (Kollewe, 2015c).
Reputation frame	This frame is expected following scandalous behaviour. This frame is used to report on the actions Volkswagen takes to redeem itself after the emissions scandal or to show its reputation is in turmoil. This frame is used throughout the story when these aspects are reported on.	25 September 2015: Volkswagens reputation as a hard-won U.S. green company is tarnished (Preston, 2015).
<i>Frames that emerge from responding to events</i>		
<i>Frame</i>	<i>Distribution/positioning</i>	<i>Example</i>
Betrayal frame	A betrayal frame is used when reporting about the way Volkswagen's customers, shareholders, stakeholders and dealers feel about the scandal. This frame is only used when these aspects are brought to light.	20 November 2015: Volkswagens customers feel betrayed when they learnt about the emissions scandal after trusting the company for years (Ellery, 2015).
Change of subject frame	A change of subject frame is used when reporting shifts from scandal events to an off topic event. This frame is only used when these off topics events are introduced, the frame is randomly scattered throughout the story.	8 June 2016: Volkswagen has imported the new Sharan which has hit the Chinese market (Yan, 2016).
Crisis frame	A crisis frame is used only when the media refer to the scandal being a crisis, or the company being in crisis. This frame is randomly scattered throughout the story.	5 November 2015 The Volkswagen crisis has begun to hit company sales hard, Volkswagen is reporting losses unseen in the company for decades (Kollewe, 2015b).
Environmental frame	The environmental frame is only used then the media, or an outside voice, make reference to the affects the scandal has had on the environment. This frame is randomly scattered throughout the story.	8 July 2016: A Spanish judge has charged Volkswagen with fraud and damage to the environment because of the emissions scandal (Spain charges Volkswagen with fraud over emissions, 2016).
Executive frame	The executive frame is only used when the media, or an outside voice, make reference to the involvement of Volkswagen's top	19 July 2016: Three attorneys general have challenged Volkswagens defence stating that the emissions cheating was

	leaders. This frame is randomly scattered throughout the story, however when a story involving company executives emerges there are a cluster of stories using this frame.	orchestrated over a decade, involved multiple engineers, and deeply involved the company's boardroom (Tabuchi & Ewing, 2016b).
Health frame	This frame is only introduced a select number of times when referencing the health implications of the Volkswagen emissions scandal, who it affects and how it affects them. This frame is only used a few times throughout the story.	28 September 2015: How many deaths have been caused in the US as a result of Volkswagen deception? (Sanger-Katz & Schwartz, 2015).
National frame	A national frame is used by the media to highlight how the scandal affects Germany as a whole. This frame is randomly scattered throughout the story.	4 November 2015: The German Green party has accused the German government of having involvement with the emissions cheating saying Alexander Dobrindt the Federal Minister of Transportation needs to take responsibility (Ausweitung des VW-Skandals [Spread of the VW-scandal], 2015).
Dismissing frame	A dismissing frame is adopted when something is to be of less importance/relevant to the scandal. This frame is used often throughout the story, especially when Volkswagen makes light of the scandal.	11 December 2015: Volkswagen said that only "slight deviations" were found in a fraction of the 800,000 cars involved in the emissions scandal investigation so the scandal is not as bad as they feared (VW emission scandal not as bad as feared, 2015).
Staff restructuring frame	This frame is used when there is mention of Volkswagen's staff changing, staff either resign, are suspended, or appointed to a new role. This frame is actively used during the beginning of the story as Martin Winterkorn resigns and Matthias Müller is appointed into his role.	10 December 2015: Former CEO of Volkswagen Martin Winterkorn has stepped down from the chairmanship of the Audi luxury brand management board (Kienzle, 2015).
Technical frame	A technical frame is used when the media make reference to the technical side of the scandal, for example, the software used and how it worked. This frame is used sparingly throughout the story.	25 September 2015: Volkswagen has admitted to US regulators the software they used in their cars could sense when it was being tested and could conceal its true emission levels (Kienzle, 2015).

Table 5.3 shows that each newspaper's frames were organised in three different ways that show how the aspects of the story were discussed over time. These were: frames that are consistent throughout the story; frames that shape the way the story progresses; and frames that emerge as responses to new events within the story. Frames that are consistent throughout the story are key drivers in the news coverage of the story, they are continuous

and do not follow a narrative. These frames are the: company accountability, individual accountability, investigative, scandal and solution frames. These frames shape the story, they are the foundation frames that flow throughout the story whereas other frames progress or are new events.

Frames used in the progression of a scandal are frames which one would expect to see as the scandal evolves. These frames are the: apologetic, deception, legal, accepting accountability, repercussions, and reputation frames. These frames are expected to follow a scandal. After a scandal breaks, it is socially expected that there will be an apology; a scandal involves deceptive behaviours or actions that are then investigated to initiate legal action. The accused either accepts responsibility at the very start of the scandal or is forced to accept responsibility through legal action. The results of the legal action present the repercussions for the scandal in the form of fines, loss of profit, credibility or, in Volkswagen's case, the addition of vehicle recalls. The way the accused handles the scandal produces the outcome for its reputation; either it can be built back up or is severely damaged.

Frames that emerge as responses to new events within the story would not have existed if their subject was not brought up; these frames needed to arise because they are a type of reactive framing. These frames are the: betrayal, change of subject, crisis, environmental, executive, health, national, dismissing, staff restructuring, and technical frames. These frames emerge every so often because they are responding to something external, e.g., the media or the way a particular event/issue was constructed, and these events/issues need to be framed in a relevant way. These frames are less significant than the more dominant frames seen consistently throughout the story.

5.6.4 COMPANY FRAMING

This section compares the newspaper framing with Volkswagen's company communications. This section compares the dominant frames used by each and explains similarities and differences. This section focuses on the use of Volkswagen's frames and its position in the story; these frames are enforced with examples. As mentioned in section 5.4.1.8, the preliminary analysis of Volkswagen's company communications, through the use of Leximancer concept maps (see Fig 5.9), showed that the company's concept bubbles differed

from those of the seven newspapers. These differing concepts raised questions like why the company's framing did not align with the newspapers'.

After examining 71 of *Volkswagen*'s company communications which report on the Volkswagen emissions scandal, six dominant frames emerged. These frames are: cooperation, future, accepting accountability, redemption, solution and staff restructuring frames. Volkswagen's leading frame was a solution frame, used 34/71 times; its second leading frame was a future frame used 16/71 times. Volkswagen's high frequency in using a future frame aligns with the future concept bubble presented in Figure 5.9. This suggests that Volkswagen has a strong motivation to move forward from the scandal and focus on the company's future; this is further empathised in a statement released by *Volkswagen* in which Matthias Müller states: "We have to look beyond the current situation and create the conditions for Volkswagen's successful further development" (Volkswagen AG, 2015c). The dominant frames presented in this section do not correspond with the dominant frames used by the media. In fact these frames are significantly different. This shows that Volkswagen framed the scandal in a different manner from the newspapers and was not aligning itself with the newspapers as a strategy.

Examples of the dominant frames include: *Volkswagen*'s use of a cooperation, future and staff restructuring frames can be seen in a company publication on 25 September, 2015, stating that the company's Supervisory Board had given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data (Volkswagen AG, 2015d). Furthermore, that Matthias Müller would lead the company from this point forward. An example of *Volkswagen*'s use of an accepting accountability frame can be seen in a company communication on 22 September, 2015, as CEO Martin Winterkorn says he is "endlessly sorry" and that manipulation at Volkswagen will never happen again (Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn 'endlessly sorry' for emissions scandal, 2015). Finally, an example of *Volkswagen*'s use of a redemption frame and a solution frame can be seen in a company communication on 25 September, 2015 that Dr Herbert Diess, CEO of the Volkswagen Passenger Cars brand, says "I assure you that Volkswagen will do everything humanly possible to win back the trust of our customers, the dealerships and the public" (Volkswagen AG, 2015e).

Although *Volkswagen*'s company communications do not align with all frames the media uses throughout reporting, a few frames are similar to those of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*'s reporting. Table 5.4 provides examples of this framing alignment.

Table 5.4 Comparative table: Volkswagen and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung Framing

	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Brand development frame	13 October 2015: "We will become more efficient, create a new outline for the product range and fundamental technologies and will achieve leeway for future-directed technologies through an accelerated efficiency programme" – Volkswagen's chief of branding (Diess, 2015)	25 September 2015: The Supervisory board states there will be Major changes: Porsche will brand group with Bentley and Bugatti, there will be an upgrade of brands and regions, new Group functions for efficiency and future oriented fields (Volkswagen, AG, 2015f).
Company development frame	15 October 2015: "We have to redo the culture and the comprehension of leadership in the corporation." – Volkswagen CEO. Volkswagen is rebranding and recalling cars to be fixed (Volkswagen ruft europaweit 8.5 millionen diesel zurück [Volkswagen recalls 8.5 million diesel across Europe], 2015).	25 September: The Supervisory Board states that some major changes will include the reorganisation of the North America region and Further Board of Management changes and streamlining the Group Board of Management (Volkswagen, AG, 2015f).
Disbelief frame	3 August 2016: Bavaria has sued Volkswagen and a member of the Volkswagen board is "surprised" by this VW-Vorstandsmitglied «überrascht» [Volkswagen member of the board "surprised"], 2016).	23 September 2015: CEO Martin Winterkorn says "I am shocked by the events of the past few days. Above all, I am stunned that misconduct on such a scale was possible in the Volkswagen Group" (Volkswagen AG, 2015g).

Volkswagen does respond to certain aspects of the media's story. For example, the company acknowledges the scandal and apologises through the CEO who is reported as saying "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public" (Volkswagen AG, 2015h). This is a pro forma, formulaic apology, of a kind that companies generally engage in after scandalous behaviour has been exposed and risks carrying with it an implication that the company doesn't really mean it. In the initial stages of the scandal, the media apply an individual accountability frame; *Volkswagen* also responds to this, partly because the CEO had done something wrong, but also because the media had pointed this out and amplified it. The company has an implicit response to the media but it is on its own terms, in terms of the company's own way of thinking and self-motivated activity,

as seen in a statement released by Martin Winterkorn, “Volkswagen needs a fresh start – also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation” (Volkswagen AG, 2015g).

Some newspapers employ a lack of awareness frame, which was used to highlight the lack of communication the newspaper’s country received. An example was discussed in section 5.6.2.3 for *The Sydney Morning Herald*’s reporting. This newspaper used frames to show how Australia and Australia’s Volkswagen shareholders and customers were left in the dark during the scandal, receiving no communication from the company. Throughout Volkswagen’s company communications, different voices, from outside countries, present themselves in the story. These voices were from Europe and the US. Although these nations’ voices were reported in the seven newspapers, this differs from the newspapers because these were the only two voices heard. This shows that Volkswagen is reporting only to the larger nations that are leading the reporting and are responsible for enlarging the scandal. These are the voices from the nations that have been affected most by the scandal and these nations hold immense power to cause the most damage to Volkswagen’s reputation. Therefore Volkswagen acknowledges them more than it does other smaller countries.

Volkswagen employs frames that are distinct and focussed on internal processes. The company’s framing can be seen as on a parallel track to the media, where the frames do not match with reporting between the company and the media. Volkswagen framing does not match temporally with the way the story is reported by the papers versus the story communicated in their company statements. This suggests that the frames that were discovered were consistent with two concepts, the parallel worlds of *Volkswagen* and the media and a general lack of engagement with media reporting. This is shown as the company boycotted the media and reported on other matters of the scandal or the company. For example, Volkswagen’s use of a clarification frame is similar to that of the seven newspapers studied. The newspapers framed this in terms of wanting clarification whereas the company framed this in terms of promising clarification, as stated by CEO Matthias Müller when he said:

“From the very start I have pushed hard for the relentless and comprehensive clarification of events. We will stop at nothing and nobody. This is a painful process,

but it is our only alternative. For us, the only thing that counts is the truth. That is the basis for the fundamental realignment that Volkswagen needs” (Volkswagen AG, 2015i)

Although the company has said it will stop at nothing to clarify the issue, its actions prove to be different, since Australia remained in the dark throughout the majority of the story.

Volkswagen’s company communications also dismiss the severity of the scandal while the media label it a crisis, saying it will go down in history. An example of this is seen in a statement from Martin Winterkorn when he says:

“From our point of view there is no reason for doom-mongering. Nothing has changed in that there are millions of people waiting to buy their first car in China. Especially in the country’s West, there are huge potentials” (VW-Chef: Kein Grund für Schwarzmalerie in China [VW- chief: No reason for doom-mongering in China], 2015).

Furthermore, the company’s communications present the situation as if Volkswagen and the scandal are not associated. This is seen in a statement released by Martin Winterkorn that “the irregularities of our company’s diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for” (Abgas-Krise trifft VW-Gewinn [Emission- crisis impacts VW profit], 2015). This further suggests that *Volkswagen*’s company communications and the reporting in the media were running parallel, rather than engaging with each other, and there was a desire to open up a gap between the company’s ‘truth’ and the media accounts.

After examining 71 company communication publications, there are no significant changes over time in the framing. The frames Volkswagen uses in its company communications are all framed around moments that occur at different points and different times throughout the story. Volkswagen’s framing does not follow a narrative or fit into the story told by the seven newspapers. Its framing differs from the newspaper frames in that the frames are much more likely to pop up when relevant to the newspaper frames.

5.7 KEY FINDINGS

Table 5.5 A summary of the key findings of Chapter Five

<i>Key Findings</i>	<i>Description</i>
Dominant overall frames: Company accountability individual accountability, investigative, legal, accepting accountability, staff restructuring, repercussions, scandal solution, deception frames	Of 69 distinct frames, these nine frames are the most dominant. These were the frames that were used consistently, distinctively in a few places, or during different stages of the story reported by the media.
<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> framing is closely aligned with the overall framing of the story	<i>The Guardian</i> and <i>The New York Times</i> have the most coverage and the widest range of frames. Their framing tends to be closer to the overall framing of the story, which suggests they were playing a significant global role in the reporting/framing of the story.
Localised reporting	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , <i>Times of India</i> and <i>China Daily</i> framed in a localised manner. Although these newspapers make reference to Volkswagen's deceitful actions and its accountability, the media within these countries prominently focused on the implications the scandal has had on the country, or how the country plans to move forward in the future.
<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i> reporting and Volkswagen's company communications have a similar use of frames, as the newspaper followed many frames other newspapers used.	Similar frames are used: brand development, company development and disbelief frameas.
Over time frames can be broken up into three categories	Frames that appear consistently throughout the story; frames that shape the story's progress; and frames that emerge from responding to events.
Volkswagen's company communications were discovered to be consistent with two concepts	The parallel worlds between Volkswagen and the media and the complete lack of engagement with media reporting.

5.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The following section provides a recap of the newspapers' selection. This chapter presented the results of the preliminary analysis and the main framing analysis. It presented the preliminary results produced from the Leximancer concept maps and word frequency analysis, which suggested potential frames that could emerge during the framing analysis. It then discussed the results found by framing analysis; these results were presented in four sub sections, overall framing, national framing, framing over time and company framing. Finally, this chapter summarised the key findings and presented them in a table for ease of readability.

The results presented in this chapter show a distinct difference between newspaper framing and the company's communications framing, as well as similarities and differences in framing across nations and over time. *The Guardian's* reporting shows it was a global leader in framing of the Volkswagen emission scandal. Its dominant frames match those of

the overall framing of the story and the newspaper seemed to stay close to the story's main points. *The New York Times*'s reporting also showed global leader's reporting of the scandal. The newspaper's use of a both global frames and environmental frames showed it framed the scandal in a different light from other newspapers. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily* and the *Times of India* all showed forms of localised reporting. *The Sydney Morning Herald* employed the most lack of awareness framing to show how they and their public were left in the dark throughout the scandal. *China Daily* employed new beginning frames, partnership frames and prospective frames to show how its reporting quickly moved on from the scandal. The *Times of India* framed from a national perspective reporting how the scandal affected India as a country, specifically its solution framing involving vehicle recalls. *O GLOBO*'s reporting was very similar to the overall framing of the scandal. That newspaper highlights the negative implications of the scandal on both Volkswagen and Germany, and placed accountability for the scandal on Volkswagen. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reporting is similar to the Volkswagen company's communications in that they employ both company and brand development frames. However, this newspaper also had a strong focus on company accountability framing, which aligns with *The Guardian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *O GLOBO*. These results show a consistent overall scandal storyline led by a few newspapers, *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*; the other newspapers drew on them at times.

6 DISCUSSION

This section will discuss the main findings presented in this study, which will then be compared with how these relate to the literature presented in Chapter Two. This chapter is organised into four main sections. The first section, media versus corporate communication, focusses on four main findings: dominant framing, global leader reporting, localised reporting and corporate governance. The second section discusses framing over time, specifically, how the positioning, distribution and changing of frames used in the Volkswagen emissions scandal were consistent or inconsistent with current strategies used to frame over time. The third section discusses the differences between what the literature leads one to expect media and company communications to be, compared with how they actually were, i.e., they weren't responsive but parallel. The fourth and final section discusses Volkswagen's corporate reputation and whether it followed crisis communication strategies in order to protect its reputation.

6.1 DOMINANT FRAMING

The findings indicate a small number of framing strategies really dominated the Volkswagen emissions scandal story as told by the seven newspapers studied. Although there were many potential ways of framing the story, a few dominant frames were selected. These frames were to do with company accountability, individual accountability, investigations, legal matters, personal accountability, staff restructuring, repercussions, the scandal, solutions, and deception. The reason why these were the dominant frames could be because there was never any dispute about there being a scandal. The story broke with all seven newspapers reporting that Volkswagen was under investigation for cheating diesel emissions tests and Volkswagen's first company communication was a public apology saying that it was sorry for breaking the trust of its customers and the public. Every other frame used throughout the story can be viewed as explanatory ideas that substantiate Volkswagen's scandalous actions. The selection of these frames shows that Volkswagen was placed in the spotlight and the media were making a concerted effort to hold the company accountable by asking probing questions.

The persistent use of the company accountability and individual accountability frames implies that the story was not framed as a technical problem and it was not seen primarily as an environmental problem. Instead, the story was framed as a matter of accountability or an individual problem. This is not surprising since the media thrive on the placement of blame and demands for accountability. This is emphasised in a study by Dowman and Mills (2008) who conducted an experiment in four New Zealand schools in one geographic area, exploring the way education professionals made sense of newspaper articles that addressed accountability and responsibility in education. This correlates with the idea of responsibility framing presented in Chapter Two. Responsibility framing is used to hold either an individual or a corporation accountable for their actions. Because human activities are seen as controllable actions, those who knowingly perform unethical actions can be held responsible for the outcome (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2010). This ethical framing was central to the news reporting and supports literature describing news journalism as taking a position of acting on behalf of the public and in the public good.

The significant use of the investigative frame implies that the media are informing the public that the company is being held accountable for its actions. The media's use of investigative reporting ensures the company remains in the spotlight until it is reprimanded. The way this type of framing was used is predicted by the literature presented in Chapter Two. Investigative reporting can place a crisis in the spotlight or keep it out of the public eye (Nelkin, 1988). The media also can set a tone for public discussion; this is achieved through the deliberate coverage of a news story (Barnes et al., 2008). The media seldom portray a crisis in a positive light; they use a wide variety of techniques, such as tone, to influence the audience's opinion regarding an issue. Tone can be seen as favourable, neutral or unfavourable. When the media use a favourable tone, the corporation is commended for its actions; a neutral tone adds no modifying emphases to the story; and an unfavourable tone criticises the corporation for its actions (Deephouse, 2000). The media are often the starting point for public discussion. They act as extremely influential commentators during a crisis, allowing them to strengthen negative opinions and outcomes for the corporation involved (Fearn-Banks, 2009). They can also create an emotional news story that captures the audience's attention and endangers the reputation or existence of the corporation (Coombs & Holladay, 2010).

Any crisis can become a corporate scandal when the response involves unethical behaviour or illegal actions (Grebe, 2013). The significant use of the legal frame implies that the company has been held accountable and found guilty for its actions. This shows the media framed the legal implications for the company, including lawsuits, fines, the establishment of new laws or policies, and their settlements, to show how the implications of such deceitful behaviour would have long lasting negative effects and would not be tolerated. This is also discussed in the literature, which reports that for an individual or organisation, the long-term fault in the aftermath of a scandal may overpower its immediate consequences, legal, financial or otherwise (Demott, 2012).

The persistent and extensive use of the accepting accountability frame, by both the seven selected newspapers and Volkswagen's company communications, implies the use of an 'agreement situation' crisis communication strategy. Both Volkswagen and the select individuals against whom accusations have been placed accept they caused the event, had control and accept the accuser's assessment standards are fair (Bradford & Garrett, 1995). This shows that the company/individual(s) accept(s) their actions were deceitful and are attempting to resolve the issue rather than denying the occurrence of the questionable event (Bradford & Garrett, 1995) or asserting that there is no crisis (Coombs, 2007a). However, Volkswagen's communications and the reporting seen in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* showed a kind of pro forma, formulaic apology by Volkswagen. This showed Volkswagen did not necessarily mean what it was saying; it was a reactionary apology only after being exposed for engaging in scandalous behaviour.

The consistent use of the staff restructuring frame implies that the media is reporting the company's internal processes. These staff restructuring frames are used to show movements within the company, whether they be resignations, suspensions or new position appointments. Staff restructuring is not usually a process used to prevent a situation from happening or as a result of something good, it is usually caused by significant occurrence that forces the company to internally manage the situation. This shows a sort of internal acknowledgement that something has happened and this restructure is the response to it. This also fits a scandal narrative in which the facts of personnel changes represent a moment of fault being accorded and the company changing its ways.

The persistent use of the repercussions frame implies that the media highlight the repercussions as a result of the exposure of a company's malpractice or law-breaking actions. This use of a repercussions frame is another example of how the media has held the company accountable for its actions, showing their immense financial implications. This type of framing correlates with the literature which states that using the frame of economic consequences identifies the financial implications of a crisis for an individual or corporation. The greater the economic consequence, the more it will be shown in the media (Mucciaroni, 2011).

The consistent use of the scandal frame is used to highlight the severity of the scandal. The media sensationalised the scandal by drawing attention to and awareness of it. Most information stakeholders receive is from the news media because they are often the first point of access for the most up-to-date information (Carroll & McCombs, 2003). This allows the media to have such a prevalent influence on people's opinions and corporations' future reputation (Coombs, 2007a; Carroll & McCombs, 2003). The use of this type of frame highlights the shortcomings of the darker side of business, that even large well-known companies can be corrupt and do deceitful things. Furthermore, from the media's commercial point of view, stories like this guarantee readership, because it is human nature to be drawn to negative news. According to Coombs (2007), the media try to intensify a crisis to fulfil their audience's interest in negative news. This is because negative news is more lucrative than positive news (Fearn-Banks, 2009).

The extensive use of the solutions frame implies the media were trying to show how the company was fixing its mistakes. As shown in Chapter Five, the solutions frame was applied when Volkswagen recalled vehicles, introduced compensation schemes or announced a fix for the illegal software. Compared with a direct accountability frame, it is a more positive frame used to show the company accepts it is at fault. This frame places ownership on the company by reinforcing its mistakes and showing its process to redemption.

The widespread use of the deception frame is another example of a frame the media use to place blame and demand accountability. In this study, we can see how the newspapers used frames like this to try to spark emotions and create opinions on the subject. This is supported by the literature which suggests the media act as extremely influential commentators during a

crisis, allowing them to strengthen negative opinions and outcomes for the corporation involved (Fearn-Banks, 2009). They also can create an emotional news story that captures the attention of the audience and endangers the reputation or existence of the corporation (Coombs & Holladay, 2010). According to Coombs (2007), the media try to intensify a crisis to fulfil their audience's interest in negative news. This is because negative news is more lucrative than positive news (Fearn-Banks, 2009). This shows how the media frames an event to ignite negative opinions about the company; frames like a deception frame create negative opinions and emotions even if the emissions issue did not directly affect an individual. Furthermore, this frame suggests a backward shift of corporate responsibility. Today, consumers want organisations to act more ethically and sustainably, which is what many organisations are starting to do. The use of a deception frame and the actions shown by Volkswagen enforce people's opinions that large organisations are devious and do not operate in ethical, morally up-standing ways because they think they are large enough to get away with it.

Journalists play a key role in determining which frames are used to shape a news story (Hänggli 2012). An and Gower (2009) propose that there is a sequence of predominant frame types used in the media's news coverage. These frames are conflict, economic consequences, morality and human interest. The dominant frames used in this research are consistent with those presented in these studies. The human interest frame, used to connect people's emotions by making events relatable and personal, can be seen when the newspapers talk about the number of people affected, as well as the health and environment issues caused by the scandal. The conflict frame, which creates an element of conflict and generates attention and contributes to the placing of blame on a corporation in crisis, is seen throughout the newspapers' reporting of the scandal, particularly in the initial stages when the scandal first broke. The responsibility frame, which is used to hold either an individual or a corporation accountable for their actions, can also be seen throughout the story, again particularly in the initial stages of the scandal when people demanded to know who was at fault. The frame of economic consequences, which identifies the financial implications of a crisis for an individual or corporation, can be seen in the reporting of fines and loss of profit and shares incurred by the company. Finally, the morality frame, which is commonly used to highlight ethical actions (Mucciaroni, 2011), is used, particularly by Volkswagen, to show its shift towards a more ethical and sustainable future, e.g., its launch of electric cars by 2020 and its

'Think Blue Factory' program aiming at achieving sustainability through environment-friendly manufacturing (Guptal, 2016)

There is a vast literature about corporate scandals and corporations that have found themselves in the media's spotlight. An example is the 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico (Gillis & Fountain, 2010), which was discussed in Chapter Two. The aim of the study was to examine the agenda and differences between the frames produced by BP and the media. The results showed that BP framed the crisis as an accidental event where external causes were to blame, not the company. BP disengaged itself from the crisis and proceeded to suggest solutions for the technical problem, effectively concentrating on a solution, not taking responsibility. The results also showed that BP's public relations framing was less complex than the media's framing. The media's framing contained more issues, actors and framing relationships and focused more on the consequences of the crisis (Schultz et al., 2012). The findings in Schultz et al.'s (2012) study are similar to the findings in this research. Like BP's corporate communications, Volkswagen disengaged itself from the crisis in an attempt to find a solution. Furthermore, Volkswagen's public relations framing was less complex than the media's framing. Like BP, Volkswagen communicated less on the issues and consequences of its actions and more on its future as it sought to move on from the scandal.

A recent study on the Volkswagen emissions scandal by Abdellah (2016) examined how the Volkswagen crisis was framed both by the news media in a number of countries and the company. The research elaborated this by examining framing over time and to what extent crisis communication differentiated between employees and customers. The findings revealed that the framing of Volkswagen's crisis communication towards employees and customers was different. For example, Volkswagen used a reminder and ingratiation frame to express the importance of the workforce for the success of the organization; customers were addressed with promises, reassurance, and trust frames, showing a different communication towards two different types of stakeholder. Of the 69 frames identified in this research, Abdellah's (2016) reminder and ingratiation frame were not among them. The reminder frame, shows how the organisation informs stakeholders of the good work that has been done by the organisation and the ingratiation frame is used to praise stakeholders. These frames were not identified in this study because this study examined the reporting in international newspapers which framed it as a crisis and a scandal. Abdellah's (2016) study examined only

articles from German newspapers whose reporting detracted from the scandal's severity; this was also seen in the reporting by *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Because of Germany's corporate governance tradition and the fact Volkswagen is a well-known German company, it is likely that German newspapers would report the story in a more positive light to protect the company's reputation. If Volkswagen had apologised for its deceitful behaviour before it was exposed, it is likely this frame would also be seen in international newspaper reporting.

6.2 GLOBAL LEADER REPORTING

This research has examined the media in a wide range of countries and identified two newspapers that took leading roles in the reporting of the Volkswagen emissions scandal. These two newspapers were *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*. Other newspapers focused more narrowly and locally but these two were holding a global company accountable in the global news media space. Both these newspapers seemed to take a lead in shaping the coverage elsewhere, as well as producing large volumes of news reporting. This is significant because many of Volkswagen's consumers are from the United Kingdom and the United States. These media are informing a large audience that contains many stakeholders (i.e., customers, potential customers and dealers) of the severity of the scandal. Furthermore, the United Kingdom is known for its shift towards requiring organisations to become more environmentally friendly and the United States is known for its anti-corruption stand. The media in both these countries are therefore reporting on issues the countries will not tolerate.

When comparing this observation to the literature, Chyi and McCombs (2004) state that the measurement for media frames is established in time and space. They explain that the dimension of space comprises five levels at both micro (individual) and macro (international) levels and that these levels are understood as intervals on a continuum. Chyi and McCombs (2004) introduce a measurement for crisis communication called the 'societal level', whereby a news event is framed with social or national significance. This is significant since this level of measurement is seen in reporting by these two newspapers, because they have the widest coverage and the widest range of frames. Their framing is closely related to the overall framing of the story, playing a significant global role in the reporting/framing of the story. As both these newspapers have an international readership, they emerged as the leaders in the reporting of the Volkswagen emissions scandal. They used authoritative framing, which is

supported by their identical dominant frames that coincide with those presented in the overall framing.

6.3 LOCALISED REPORTING

As well as global leader reporting, the findings also revealed localised reporting in three countries' newspapers, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily* and the *Times of India*. As stated in the previous section, Chyi and McCombs (2004) introduce a measurement for crisis communication. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily* and the *Times of India* focus on localisation of reporting, which supports the second level in Chyi and McCombs (2004) measurement, the community level, as a news event is framed with significance for a certain community.

These newspapers embraced a localisation of stories since media within these countries prominently focused on the implications the scandal for the country, or how the country planned to move forward in the future. This kind of reporting involved high frequencies of referring to the country of origin, reporting countries being in the dark and finding their own solutions for the scandal, and reporting focussed on the future, including future prospects for the country. This is significant because these newspapers tended to report against the overall framing of the story. Although these newspapers refer to Volkswagen's deceitful actions and its accountability, it appears that the media seem to be more interested in the scandal's implications for their countries or their future prospects, rather than solely placing blame on the company.

An example of this localised reporting was seen in the reporting by *China Daily*; this newspaper's reporting was distinctly different from that of the other newspapers examined in this study. *China Daily's* reporting did not appear to operate by the same kind of model, it appeared that it was not big on investigative accountability reporting and its reporting was much more consensual. Compared with the reporting in the other newspapers, *China Daily's* dominant frames did not align with the overall reporting of the story, it focussed on distinct events aimed at solutions, the future and partnerships with Volkswagen.

This reporting by *China Daily* is significant because it poses questions regarding the country's political and cultural context. Within China, pressure to follow global media

appears to be less than the pressure to adhere to China's national interests. Though most media were rescinding their support from the company, Chinese media discussed forming new partnerships with it. This is puzzling since China's news media dealt with the same facts as the other newspapers and reported the same lack of accountability and failure to operate by normal standards, i.e., telling the truth, but the framing of it was focused towards quite different things. This type of framing is significant since it shows the paper was framing in terms of how you move beyond the problem, rather than holding someone accountable. It is unclear why this was. The reasoning behind this type of framing may have to do with cultural differences or perhaps it has to do with the potential opportunity for business with Volkswagen, which was shaped at higher levels than news media directors. Ultimately, this raises the question why framing was different in China, which can be discovered only with future research.

6.4 CORPORATE GOVERNANCE

Similar to China's reporting, Germany's reporting differed from the overall reporting of the scandal. The results showed that Germany's reporting was very close to Volkswagen; *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported everything that the leading reports by *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* did, but it was often framed differently. The framing analysis helped identify the differences. Both the leading newspapers had the same facts and sometimes the exact same quotes, but they made sense differently in the German and Chinese media. Framing analysis has proved to be particularly useful to see how the same issues or events can make sense differently and be socially constructed differently. Through the examination of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* reporting, it is highly likely that it was affected by the corporate governance customs in which German society and the German government operates. This is not to say it did not report things; the reporting was not a suppression of news, it was just that the framing was different from other countries.

The literature presented in Chapter Four, as well as the results presented in the previous chapter, highlight how Volkswagen's long-term strategies and decisions were strongly influenced by government representatives through their membership of the company's governing body. The level of government control over this privately owned company reflects the significance of the company to the German economy but also means the government is strongly implicated in any challenges that are made to company policy or actions.

That Volkswagen AG presents itself as an independent entity and shaped its communications according to internal dynamics rather than the huge global pressure on it is also consistent with this corporate governance model. Volkswagen's leader control and government control aligns with its statements regarding the board saying this and that. Volkswagen presents itself as a monolithic object, i.e., a black box that does not always respond to the outside world. Inside Volkswagen, however, there are many decisions, processes and procedures, with involvement from different entities, such as the management and the supervisory board.

A key finding presented in the previous chapter was that of *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* and Volkswagen's use of corresponding frames presented in Table 5.2. This is significant since there is a cultural affinity in the frames in that a German company sees itself as having some kind of relationship to the German public. German politics and German businesses tend to be more consensus orientated and less competition orientated, e.g., there are seldom any takeover bids on the German stock market. Instead, mergers are created, which are consensual because they are in both companies' interests and, much more often, there are accommodations between companies that do not make it to the level of a merger. The majority of accommodations are between staff, unions, management and between governments; there is much more mutual agreement and so you are likely to get more convergence as was seen in the reporting by *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Although the newspaper reported on Volkswagen's deceptive actions and employed a company accountability frame it also frames events in light of the company's development for improvement; this shows the German public the company is redeeming itself and righting wrongs. These national differences, related to specific cultural, economic and political contexts, suggest the theory on companies' responses to crises needs to be more multifaceted. Particularly with global companies, the 'correct' response or the 'typical' narrative of a scandal may differ markedly. The relationship between media and corporate brands may differ according to country. For example, in Brazil and Australia, EU and US regulators were far away and local issues took precedence over the standard script of accountability to those regulators.

6.5 FRAMING OVER TIME

Stories have plots that stretch over time and involve a sequence of events. When the media frames these events over time, they are doing so by trying to make sense of the specific aspects of the story. They are also placing these events on a continuum, in terms of what happened and how things will lead to the scandal's conclusion. They frame the event/issue in terms of the current emerging story and the story that has the potential to emerge. These stories are also told from a perspective and allocates people into roles, such as, the heroes and villains. The perspective of a story emerges when there is a consistency in the frames that appear. In this study, these frames were the dominant, mainly accountability frames.

Therefore the majority of the story as it emerged over time was one of the company having done something bad. Through this framing the media point this bad behaviour out to the company, it responds to that and hopefully the company either changes its ways for the better or is ordered to pay an \$18 billion fine and endure public shame, like Volkswagen. There is a kind of implicit story built up across these frames. This suggests a broader story to which some of the framing contributed. However, there are also frames that shape a story and frames that pop up over time. In terms of frames that shape a story, these are ones that follow the crisis response models introduced in Chapter Two. Framing in terms of a scandal is also a significant finding because it shows that environment, technical, crisis, national impact and executive frames, which could have been major organising frames, weren't.

The results presented in Chapter Five highlight some inconsistency in the framing over time rather than being a narrative arc (usually involving exposition, rising action, climax, falling cation, and resolution) from crisis to resolution. This shows there isn't global reporting, but there are some globalised media that tend to lead the rest. This is seen in the dominant leading frames used by *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*. The frames used by the media are key drivers in the news coverage of the story; they are continuous and do not follow a narrative. Over time, there are frames that appear consistently through the story, frames that shape the story's progress, and frames that emerge from responding to events. This study has not identified strong evidence of this type of framing as in the literature presented in Chapter Two. This suggests this is not a prominent way to analyse frames within the current literature, but it seems to be particularly relevant for this study. Generally, when examining framing over time, the idea is to hold a company to account or a company is responding according to a crisis response model. This is consistent with the discussion in the

section above regarding dominant frames. Examining the newspapers' framing over time was consistent in that all frames came together to form the sequence of the story. However, Volkswagen's company communications differ from the way the newspapers framed the story over time.

6.6 PARALLEL WORLDS

The findings presented in Chapter Five tell us things we did not expect. The most unexpected finding was that Volkswagen and the media's framing rarely intersected; this was quite unexpected because the literature suggested that large organisations are very responsive and very sensitive to the media. Ritchie et al. (2004) state that throughout a crisis and during the recovery stage, corporate communication is used to reduce undesirable media coverage and direct away from negative opinions towards the company.

This study reveals that the newspapers' and Volkswagen's frames do not really engage with each other. Their reporting existed, at times, in parallel worlds. Before this is discussed, it is important to acknowledge that news reports are a different kind of text from a company's communication text. This is particularly important because this research had a focus on headlines and the headline of a newspaper is different from the title of a press release or company statement. These types of communication function differently as text, a press release or company statement is seen as an announcement to the public, whereas newspaper titles sum up a story. It is important to qualify the parallel worlds statement by acknowledging both these types of communication were operating slightly differently as text, therefore there will be differences. However, this does not explain why there is such conflicting reporting.

The literature set up an expectation that a company would respond to the media, shareholders and stakeholders in times of turmoil. Sturges (1994) finds that stakeholders need three types of communication during different stages of a crisis: instructing information, adjusting information and internalising information. Instructing information is used to show that the corporation is in control. This stage involves telling those involved how they can protect themselves both physically and financially. Adjusting information is the stage that aids in the coping process by expressing sympathy or apprehension for those involved. Finally, internalisation information aids in managing a corporation's reputation and is used

when a crisis is coming to an end. These three communication stages are crucial for a corporation to minimise any negative backlash. Furthermore, a lack of stakeholder communication can result in stakeholders withdrawing support, prolonging the outcomes of the crisis, or strengthening the threat against the company. If a corporation demonstrates effective communication, it may receive some positive media attention (Bradford & Garrett, 1995; Holladay, 2009). Volkswagen's reporting contradicts this literature since throughout most of the scandal the company did not engage with its customers or the media.

This suggests that Volkswagen's reporting is of the company operating according to its own communicative environment, whereby the company is responding to the problem by translating the problem into its own world. Volkswagen had a few press releases but the remainder of the communication was through company statements published on its website. As highlighted in Table 2.1, the Bradford and Garrett Figure 1. (1995, p.876) corporate communication responsive model, in a crisis the company is supposed to respond to allegations by acknowledging the problem and accepting responsibility. Volkswagen adheres to this model by apologising within days of the scandal breaking, as seen in a statement released by Volkswagen CEO, Martin Winterkorn "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for."

Yet, beyond this the company's communication diverges. At the centre of the media world is the public's faith in Volkswagen, as well as the individual car owners and Volkswagen dealers who have been affected by the scandal, whereas at the centre of the Volkswagen world is Volkswagen. The frames Volkswagen uses, for example, company development, brand development, future, new beginning, redemption, and progress frames, relate to the company and its actions. There is a disconnect between the media and the company in that Volkswagen does not report or respond to media reporting but focusses on itself and its internal processes.

After being caught performing deceitful acts, Volkswagen employs organisational success moves trying to sort it out. Without responding to criticisms, it shows that the criticisms do not describe or define the company, e.g., a statement released by CEO Martin Winterkorn, "I

am shocked by the events of the past few days. Above all, I am stunned that misconduct on such a scale was possible in the Volkswagen Group.” It is apparent within this quote the company is describing a reality of Volkswagen that is not a reality of one that lies and gets caught breaking laws. An example of this is seen in a statement released by Martin Winterkorn stating the scandal “goes against everything that Volkswagen stands for”. This is a very powerful thing to say; the quote makes the scandal have less of an association with Volkswagen. It is saying the scandal and Volkswagen are different, that the scandal is happening to Volkswagen but it is not really what Volkswagen stands for. Examining Volkswagen on a meaning level, how it frames things, how it understands things, or how it wants to be understood, is in terms of a different reality. In this, it is not contradictory, but is showing the parallel tracks of reporting between Volkswagen and the media.

6.7 REPUTATION

The literature on corporate reputation holds that it must be actively managed during crises, yet Volkswagen appeared to act according to a different strategy. Chapter Two, Figure 2.1, presented Turner’s social drama model which explains how to manage corporate reputation during a crisis. This model involves four stages: the ‘public breach’ stage, the ‘crisis’ stage, the ‘redressive action’ stage and ‘reintegration’ stage. The focus of the redressive stage is to limit the breach’s extent and impact. This can be achieved through legal action, settlements, remuneration, or the resignation or punishment of a key figure. The fourth and final stage is known as ‘reintegration’. This involves the integration of the breaching social group back into society. In the literature, Huegens et al. (2004) discuss four capabilities organisations use to protect their reputation, these are dialogue, advocacy, corporate silence, and crisis communication. The results presented in the previous chapter show that Volkswagen can be identified most clearly as employing the corporate silence capability. Corporate silence is when an organisation chooses to remain silent to avoid revealing or adding to a crisis and risking (more) reputational damage. When silence is used, a well thought-out decision is made by the organization to avoid directly addressing concerns in the hope that ‘silence is golden’ and will contain the situation and avoid a crisis. When comparing Volkswagen’s company communications with the media’s reporting, a lack of frames and a clarification frame emerged throughout the reporting in a few smaller countries affected by the scandal, in particular *The Sydney Morning Herald*s reporting in Australia. The media reported that

customers, dealers and even shareholders were left in the dark at many stages throughout the story. This reporting and the fact that Volkswagen reported only on the US and Europe's involvement corresponds with this literature.

The findings presented in Chapter Five highlighted that Volkswagen admitted fault and publicly apologised in the initial stages of the scandal as noted in the statements cited above. The company then stated that it would do everything it could to win back the trust of its customers. Winterkorn was quoted by the company as saying: "I assure you that Volkswagen will do everything humanly possible to win back the trust of our customers, the dealerships and the public." These statements align with the crisis communication strategies in the literature, but Volkswagen's lack of communication after these promises posed a problem for those affected by the scandal. Volkswagen's lack of communication and clarification left customers feeling betrayed and angry. Volkswagen's new CEO Matthias Müller then stated "From the very start I have pushed hard for the relentless and comprehensive clarification of events. We will stop at nothing and nobody. This is a painful process, but it is our only alternative. For us, the only thing that counts is the truth. That is the basis for the fundamental realignment that Volkswagen needs." This statement also contradicted Volkswagen's actions; Volkswagen apologising and promising to make things right does not align with its lack of action in certain countries. This appears to show that Volkswagen adopted some of the scandal response script but in a pro forma way, as it did not correspond to how the company framed the majority of its public communications. The concern over reputation was not evident at this more fundamental level of communication.

The Volkswagen emissions scandal is not a small crisis in which you would likely see an attempt at redemption; this was such a big crisis it appears that Volkswagen could not make adequate corrective actions happen, therefore it bypassed an attempt to do so. The damage to Volkswagen's reputation was so great the company could not do anything about it so it contained it and carried on as usual without fixing the underlying issue. This does not align with the suggested steps for corrective action in the crisis communication literature. These findings suggest that Volkswagen is a company on such a big scale and, as it operates in a corporate governance environment, its relationship with the media and the public cannot be fully explained by these models. Understanding one of the largest companies in the world requires analysis at a whole range of other levels, acknowledging regional differences,

relationships with different states and the many other communication environments in which meanings about the company and its brand are made. A reputation hit means something massive to a smaller company because its brand is so vulnerable, whereas Volkswagen is so much bigger, is in so many markets and is so closely integrated with the German state, that we simply cannot understand all companies in terms of the same theoretical reputation model.

This is significant because it shows that what we expect to be standard social processes, where we would expect well-known companies to act in ethical ways by reacting to media criticism with apology and correction is not always the case. This idea is also significant because it shows a disconnect between a global corporation and the traditionally huge power of the media. There are journalists around the world on average yearly salaries holding accountable for their actions people who are on yearly salaries exceeding millions of dollars. This scandal is a powerful example of the position the news media hold in the world. Part of their job is informing the public of what is going on around the world; the other part is that they shine a light on the darker aspects of life and inform the public what is happening. Often corporate scandal constitutes the darker aspects of life. Corporate social responsibility is built on openness, accountability and responding to the media. This scandal is an example of a social process whereby people hold each other to account when they have done something wrong. This is significant because Volkswagen responded only minimally, it tried to dodge the scandal and isolate the criticism and, ultimately, it steamrolled its way through the scandal. This shows there is not a rosy story of truth triumphing and that when someone does something wrong, they cannot just say 'sorry, we will fix it' and the problem will go away. Volkswagen instead ignored, denied, and avoided as a strategy that may, ultimately, have proved successful, which was also seen in BP's disengagement explained earlier in this chapter. The way Volkswagen managed its reputation has been in a way that is not consistent with the idea of a healthy society as one where if someone does something wrong, someone calls them out on it; it is more a large scale corporation thinking it is above the law.

7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter will answer the three research this research project set out to answer. These research questions were: What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions? How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets? And how does crisis framing change over a scandal? This chapter will then address the gap in literature, identify the theoretical contributions, practical implications and suggestions for future research. Finally, this chapter will summarise the overall purpose of this study.

7.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ1: What types of frame are used by Volkswagen and public print media to influence the public's understanding of Volkswagen's actions?

Volkswagen's company communications used six dominant frames to frame the Volkswagen emissions scandal. These were the cooperation, accepting accountability, redemption, and staff restructuring frames, with its leading frames being a solution frame and a future frame. Volkswagen's framing was strongly motivated towards framing its internal processes to show how the company was moving into the future.

The news media employed nine frames which dominated the overall framing of the story. These frames were: a company accountability, individual accountability, investigative, legal, accepting accountability, staff restructuring, repercussions, scandal, solution, and deception frames. The media used these frames to hold Volkswagen accountable for its actions, to set a tone for public discussion and to show the severity of the scandal. These frames were used to show the negative implications of deceitful behaviour, such as the financial implications and loss of reputation and how these would not be tolerated in society. The media used these frames to create an emotional news story that captured the attention of the audience. Furthermore, these frames were used to show that even large well-known organisations, such as Volkswagen, can be deceitful and operate in unethical, immoral ways because they think they are large enough to get away with it. The frames used by both Volkswagen's company

communications and the reporting by the seven selected newspapers were built into the scandal story.

RQ2: How does framing compare across different countries' newspapers, particularly those in Volkswagen's biggest markets?

Volkswagen's framing across countries differed as a result of national and localised reporting. *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* emerged as the leaders in reporting the Volkswagen emissions scandal. Their international readership and their identical dominant frames, coincided with the story's overall framing, meaning they played a significant global role in the reporting/framing the story. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *China Daily* and the *Times of India* embraced a localisation of stories as media within these countries prominently focused on the implications the scandal had for the country, or how the country planned to move forward. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung's* reporting was framed differently from other countries; this was thought to be associated with the corporate governance customs in which German society and the German government operate. The comparison of framing across countries showed how local economic and cultural conditions are therefore important to factor into theories of reputation management in crises.

RQ3: How does crisis framing change over a scandal?

This research found that crisis framing can change over a scandal by frames consistently appearing throughout the story, frames shaping a story's progress and frames emerging from responses to events. Examining the newspapers' framing over time was consistent in that all the frames came together to form the story sequence. However, Volkswagen's company communications differ from the way the newspapers framed the story over time. This study did not identify strong evidence of this type of framing within the literature, suggesting it is not a prominent way to analyse frames, however, it seemed particularly relevant for this study.

7.2 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND ADDRESSING THE GAP IN THE LITERATURE

Chapter Two, section 2.9 introduced previous studies that examined the Volkswagen emissions scandal using a framing analysis. The findings from these studies were that

Volkswagen failed to influence the framing processes of the media or change the negative tone in their messages; the media continuously forced Volkswagen to change its response strategy by reframing its role in the scandal to admit responsibility for its actions; that the framing of Volkswagen's crisis communications toward employees and customers was different; that actors with an active role were assigned moral weight in order to capture the readers' interest whereas other actors were involved in the scandal without moral relevance; that there was a crisis-specific pattern of frames across the organisation, the media and the public; and that there was an absence of frame alignment in the initial crisis phase, the frames of the three actors aligned over time, then the frames de-aligned in the final phase of the crisis (Abdellah, 2016; Mesch, 2016; Mitev, 2016; Van Der Meer, 2016).

These studies were conducted using either a small sample size or a narrow regional focus, creating a gap in the literature. This research analysed seven international newspapers from regions in which the Volkswagen Group identifies it has a major market share, as well as examining a large quantity of articles from each. This research has provided new cultural insights into the Volkswagen scandal. Furthermore, the data set applied to the framing analysis was larger than for any other study. The newspaper articles examined in this study provided insights into the framing of the countries most affected by the scandal and ultimately contributed to filling the gap in the literature. There were five key findings from this study. First, 10 dominant frames occurred in both global and localised reporting. Secondly, of these frames, the company accountability, individual accountability, investigative, scandal, and solution frames appeared consistently. Thirdly, these emerged at the same point on the scandal's timeline points from frames used to show the story's progression and to respond to events. Fourthly, the cooperation, future, accepting accountability, redemption, solution and staff restructuring frames constantly appeared in the company's public online communications. Fifthly, together these findings revealed that the print media and the Volkswagen company operated in parallel worlds characterised by a complete lack of ideational engagement. These results have answered questions that were not previously, ultimately making a theoretical contribution to academic literature.

During points in the story, as told by the seven selected newspapers reporting and Volkswagen's company communication, Volkswagen's sales increased even after the fallout of the scandal. It is possible that the reputation of the Volkswagen corporate is somewhat

distinct from the reputation of its vehicle themselves in some markets, or that people may not really care about corporate scandals over emissions, as they don't care about emissions as much as how nicely the car drives. The Volkswagen emissions scandal may differ from airline scandals or food scandals where trust that the company can guarantee safety, a core attribute of the product, is affected. This idea cannot be proven, however, this research suggests that reputation is sometimes more local and more focused on the product and brand than the corporation itself.

This study has highlighted that when framing over time is analysed there are frames that appear consistently throughout the story, frames that shape the story's progress, and frames that emerge from responding to events. This study has not identified strong evidence of this type of framing being a prominent way to analyse frames within the literature, therefore it makes a theoretical contribution to the framing literature.

In relation to the framing literature, the study has contributed to our understanding of three aspects of framing theory - crisis framing, frame changing and the framing of media and company perspectives. The Leximancer software, used in the preliminary analysis of this study, was extremely useful in predicting the meaning-making practices that the framing analysis later found. This software allowed the researcher to gain an initial understanding of potential frames that might be identified in the framing analysis as well as appreciating common language and language relationships prevalent in mass communication.

This thesis has presented a large study on the framing of the Volkswagen emissions scandal through both media and company communications. No other academic study, to the author's knowledge, has been completed. Before this study, there was a lack of knowledge and understanding regarding unethical corporate actions and global scandals. There were also unanswered questions, such as the meaning behind corporate messages to the wider public, over time and across countries, and why the media choose to take certain angles in their news stories. The objective of this study, in answering three research questions, has been achieved and, in doing so, has made a contribution to both theory and practice, providing new insights into this lack of knowledge and understanding.

7.3 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This study has provided a case for other companies to reflect on and provided insights into how frames shape sense-giving behaviour in the public arena. It has offered companies valuable insights into the consequences of deceptive behaviour and has revealed the challenges of addressing these consequences in public textual communication with stakeholders. This research provides an example of the importance of employing a crisis communication strategy in times of turmoil. Furthermore, it has highlighted the importance of transparent communication with stakeholders, shareholders, governments and the wider public, both nationally and internationally.

7.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One suggestion for future research would be to replicate this study and apply it to another corporate scandal. In much of the current literature, newspapers seem to be overlooked as being an older style of data collection, however, newspapers still have enormous influence with a widespread impact on the public. Online newspapers also offer a lot of material for sociological research, such as reader comments that would allow researchers to understand the impact the news stories have on the wider public. This study, applying framing analysis and using newspapers as a form of data collection, could be applied to any future corporate scandal

Another suggestion for future research would be to expand the analysis of crisis communication with social media. Social media provide an enormous international platform whereby research could examine a broader view of the Volkswagen emissions scandal. Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, provide short opinion-based posts allowing the researcher to include the wider public in the study.

During data analysis the world 'India' was shown as a large concept bubble suggesting the newspaper framed its strong presence in the scandal. This finding was similar to *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *China Daily*, suggesting the newspaper had localised the story and that the story was not about a German company but more about what the implications of that company's actions on the country. This raised questions about the relationship between the

two, which could be explained only through further research, therefore a study examining these relationships should be conducted.

The results presented in this study suggest the story was framed around the direction of Volkswagen's top managers. This could have been because of Volkswagen's corporate governance customs. This study did not examine the voices of Volkswagen's middle managers or employees, who were rarely heard in the story. Examining the involvement of the middle managers or the thoughts, feeling and opinions of Volkswagen's employees could be a potential research study.

It is possible that corporate reputation in the media may not be directly connected to the fate of the brand when talking about cars. The findings presented in this research may have been different if another type of brand, e.g., one that is more vulnerable to questions of safety (such as Malaysian Airlines) were examined. This study was about meeting US emission rules not about whether it was a good car or not. This idea has not yet been investigated and therefore creates the potential for future research.

Finally, during this study China's news media dealt with the same facts as the other newspapers and reported the same lack of accountability and failure to operate by normal standards, i.e., telling the truth, but the framing of the story focussed on quite different things, which proved to be puzzling. This type of framing was significant because it showed *China Daily* was framing in terms of how one moves beyond the problem, rather than holding someone accountable. It is unclear why this was. The reasoning behind this type of framing may have to do with cultural differences, or perhaps has to do with the potential opportunity for business with Volkswagen, which was shaped at higher levels than news media directors. Ultimately, this raises the question "Why was the framing different in China?", which highlights the potential for more future research.

7.5 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH PURPOSE

The primary aim of this research was to apply framing analysis to understand how the Volkswagen emissions scandal was created, responded to and framed in public print media and company communications, across countries and over time. The aim of this study was to answer the three research questions presented in Chapter One and to contribute to literature,

both in theory and practice. The methodology used to identify the key findings presented in this research has allowed the aims of the study to be achieved.

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9 APPENDICES

10.1 FRAME DEFINITIONS

<i>Frame</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Accepting accountability frame	An individual, company or country holding themselves accountable for their actions.
Accidental discovery frame	A discovery was made and it was accidental.
Anger frame	A feeling of anger towards someone or something.
Apologetic frame	Either an individual or a company apologises for their actions.
Authoritarian leadership frame	Someone enforcing strict authority
Betrayal frame	A feeling or actions of betrayal towards an individual, company or country.
Brand development frame	A company talks about developing their brand.
Brand disillusionment frame	A feeling of disappointment in a brand after discovering that something about it is not as good as one believed it to be.
Brand loyalty frame	A tendency to support a brand through positive comments and product purchases.
Change of subject frame	A change from one subject to another.
Clarification frame	An individual, company or country wanting a statement or situation to be made more comprehensible.
Communication frame	An exchanging of information between individuals, a company or countries.
Company accountability frame	An individual, company or country holding a company accountability for their actions.
Company development frame	A company developing long-term value for its customers, markets and business relationships.
Company loyalty frame	A company and/or its employees showing commitment and loyalty to one another.
Comparison frame	An individual, company or country being compared to another's actions.
Concerned frame	An individual, company or country is concerned by the actions of another.
Cooperation frame	An individual, company or country is cooperating with another.
Criminal frame	The criminal actions shown by an individual, company or country.
Crisis frame	An event or the fallout from the actions of an individual, company or country have been labelled a crisis.
Deadline frame	An individual, company or country has been given a deadline.
Deception frame	An individual, company or countries actions deceived others.
Defiant frame	An individual, company or country's resisting or challenging behaviour.
Denial frame	An individual, company or country refusal or denying behaviour.

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Disbelief frame	An individual, company or country's inability to believe something is true. Being shocked or surprised by another's actions.
Dismissing frame	Treating something as unworthy of serious consideration.
Environmental frame	Environmental issue that have been developed as a result of human interference.
Executive frame	Making reference to the administrative or supervisory authority in an organisation or government.
Existential frame	A proposition of existence, implying or affirming something's existence.
Fear frame	An individual, company or country having an unpleasant emotion of being afraid of something or someone.
Future frame	An individual, company or country making reference to a construction of ideas, events or states in a period of time to come.
Global issue frame	Making reference to something that will have an effect on social, economic, political or environmental issues globally.
Health frame	Making reference to something that will have an effect on a person's mental or physical condition.
Historic frame	Something that has become or has the potential to become famous or important in history.
Hope frame	An individual, company or country's expectation or desire for a particular thing to happen.
Humour frame	Making reference to, or making something become amusing or comic.
Individual accountability frame	An individual, company or country holding an individual or individuals accountable for their actions.
Innocent frame	An individual, company or country not responsible or directly involved in a negative event. Being not guilty of a crime/offence.
Lack of awareness frame	An individual, company or country is left in the dark and is unaware what is happening during an event.
Leadership frame	Making reference to the action of leading a group of individuals or an organisation.
Legal frame	Making reference to the law or legal action being taken against an individual, company or country.
Lenient frame	A set of rules, a law or a punishment becoming more tolerant than expected.
Industry issue frame	Relating to or concerned with the workers in an industry or the industry as a whole.
Insufficient information in the article	The article has insufficient accessible information to make justifiable claims.
Investigative frame	The investigation of an individual, company or country. Seeking the exposure of malpractice or law breaking actions.
National issue frame	The involvement of a nation and/or members of the government in an event.
New beginning frame	Making reference to an individual, company or country's fresh start after an event.
Outrage frame	An individual, company or country's strong reaction of anger towards someone or something.

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Partnership frame	Making reference to an arrangement between two or more individuals or companies that share a business venture.
Pressure frame	An attempt to persuade an individual, company or country to do something.
Progress frame	Development towards a more advanced or improved position.
Prolonging frame	An individual, company or country extending the duration of something.
Prospective frame	Making reference to something that is expected to become the specified thing in the future.
Punishment frame	A penalty inflicted upon an individual, company or country as a result of their offensive actions.
Redemption frame	An individual, company or country regaining their position or control over something.
Repercussions frame	Making reference to the consequences of an individual, company or country's actions.
Reputation frame	Making reference to the opinions or beliefs held about an individual, company or country.
Ridicule frame	An individual, company or country subjected to patronizing and dismissive language or behaviour.
Scandal frame	An individual, company or countries actions which cause public outrage and is seen as being legally or morally wrong.
Solution frame	Actions shown to solve a difficult problem.
Spotlight frame	An individual, company or country being placed as the centre of attention.
Staff restructuring frame	A company's movement of staff including individuals resigning, being hired, fired, suspended or quitting.
Stupidity frame	An individual, company or country's behaviour that shows a lack of sense or good judgment.
Technical frame	Making reference to industrial sciences.
Transparency frame	An individual, company or country's ability to be open and honest with others.
Ultimatum frame	Making reference to a final demand, terms or conditions, and if rejected will result in the breakdown of a relationship.
Unrealistic frame	Making reference to something that is not realistic or unachievable.
Vague frame	Making reference to something that is uncertain or unclear.
Victim frame	An individual, company or country that is duped, tricked or harmed as a result of crime or other action.

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10.2 COMPARATIVE TABLE OF FRAMES USED

Comparative Table: Frames used								
	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Accidental discovery frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as the initial findings which uncovered Volkswagens emissions cheating were discovered by chance in university laboratories of Morgantown, a city of only 30,000 West Virginia.	Frame not used	Frame not used
Anger frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 14 th April 2016 as the German public are angry over Volkswagens manages being reluctant to give up their bonuses.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 20 th June 2016 saying Volkswagen will face the wrath of its shareholders at its annual meeting as it struggles to get through the emissions scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Apologetic frame used	Frame used 6 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 CEO Martin Winterkorn apologises for the company breaking public trust.	Frame used 2 times. First time 13 th October 2015 when Volkswagen's US CEO offers sincere apology for the company's use of computer software to cheat emissions tests.	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 10 th October 2015 saying US CEO Michael Horn will apologise to Congress and he also admitted he was made aware of "a possible emissions noncompliance" in early 2014.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagen's US CEO Michael Horn apologises saying "we totally screwed up".	Frame used 2 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn the director of VW apologises. "I personally deeply regret that we have broken the trust of our consumers and the public".	Frame used 2 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for." – Martin Winterkorn.	4 times throughout company communications. First time on 20 th September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn says "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public." (Germany)
Authoritarian leadership frame used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th October 2015 to describe former CEOs leadership.	Frame used 1 time on 13 th December 2015 talking about Volkswagen being controlled by an aggressive corporate board.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 12 th October 2015 saying Martin Winterkorn was a demanding boss who didn't like failure.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 29 th October 2015 saying Volkswagen's culture is critical, underdeveloped and lead from the top down.	Frame not used
Betrayal frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 when the CEO apologises for breaking public trust.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 to talk about Volkswagen customers feeling betrayed.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 26 th September 2015 as Volkswagen has broken the trust of both its shareholders and stakeholders.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn says "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public." (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Brand development frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used once on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen may find it hard to retain its brand image and sales record in China, its biggest global market.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 13 th October 2015 “We will become more efficient, create a new outline for the product range and fundamental technologies and will achieve leeway for future-directed technologies through an accelerated efficiency programme” – Volkswagens chief of branding.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the Supervisory board states there will be Major changes: Porsche will brand group with Bentley and Bugatti, there will be an upgrade of brands and regions, new Group functions for efficiency and future oriented fields. (Germany).
Brand disillusionment frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd September 2015 to talk about Volkswagen customers’ feelings after buying a car that was thought to be fuel efficient and environmentally friendly.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Brand loyalty frame used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 20 th October 2015 to say that two- thirds of Germans still trust Volkswagen even after the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Change of subject frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th November 2015 to talk about Volkswagen hiring an expert in self-driving cars from Apple.	Frame not used	Frame used 18 times. First time on 11 th November 2015 saying Phaeton, a Volkswagen luxury model, is serving as the official car for the orchestra's tour in China.	Frame used 10 times. First time on 8 th October 2015 saying Volkswagen India is recalling nearly 400 units of its Polo compact cars, for "inspection and preventive repair" of the handbrake mechanism.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 26 th September 2015 as Suzuki Motor Corporation announced that it agreed to sell 1.5% of its stake in Volkswagen AG to Porsche.	Frame not used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 21 st October 2015 as Lower Saxony's Prime Minister Stephan Weil visited Volkswagen's main plant in Wolfsburg and he was joined by Volkswagens CEO and Chairman of the Group Works Council.
Clarification frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 23 rd September 2015 saying that Australia is demanding answers from Volkswagen.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 3 rd November 2015 as CEO Matthias Müller states "From the very start I have pushed hard for the relentless and comprehensive clarification of events." (Germany)
Communication frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 7 th December 2015 talking about Volkswagens CEO expected to give their first public update.	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd September 2016 saying that Volkswagen Australia is talking with their German head office to see if any of its cars on sale locally have the same emissions-cheating software as the US.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time 14 th October 2015 as Bosch warned Volkswagen about illegal software use in diesel cars.	Frame used 1 time on 4 th March 2016 as the 2016 Annual Press Conference of Volkswagen AG will be held in Wolfsburg on the 28th April 2016. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Company accountability frame used	Frame used 59 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 to say Volkswagen was under investigation for cheating emissions tests.	Frame used 34 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 to say Volkswagen is said to have cheated emissions tests.	Frame used 19 times. First on 21 st September 2015 when the EPA states that Volkswagen could face up to \$18 billion (USD) in fines as a result of cheating emissions tests.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 28 th September 2015 saying German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 4 th November 2015 saying India's Government will issue notice to Volkswagen after "significant variations" have been found after testing by ARAI.	Frame used 27 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 as The US EPA notified Volkswagen that the company will have to recall of nearly half a million cars in the US. And also face up to \$18 Billion (USD) in fines.	Frame used 44 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is facing legal action in the US.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data. (Germany)
Company development frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 15 th October 2015 "We have to redo the culture and the comprehension of leadership in the corporation." – Volkswagen CEO. Volkswagen is rebranding and recalling cars to be fixed.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 25 th September as the Supervisory Board states that some major changes will include the reorganisation of the North America region and Further Board of Management changes and streamlining the Group Board of Management. (Germany)
Company loyalty frame used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 24 th of September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn receives company pay of €28 million.	Frame used 1 time on 1 st October 2015 talking about Volkswagen promoting within.	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 to say that Martin Winterkorn has received a \$32 million (USD) pay out after resigning from the company.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 saying Porsche's CEO Matthias Mueller will become CEO as a replacement for Martin Winterkorn.	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen will name Porsche chief Matthias Müller as the new CEO.	Frame used 1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Former CEO Martin Winterkorn - who was forced to leave office in September has earned \$8.2 million.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Volkswagen will make the chief of Porsche, Matthias Müller, the new CEO.	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Comparison frame used	23 rd September 2015 Compared with the BP Oil Spill Scandal. 26 th September 2015 compared with Hitler. 31 st December 2015 compared with Exxon. 28 th April compared with Shell.	22 nd September 2015 compared with Libor rigging, 22 nd September 2015 compared with BP Oil Spill Scandal and 17 th November 2015 compared with Nazis.	9 th October 2015 compared with the Enron scandal and 16 th January 2016 comparing Australia and US customers saying that US customers will receive a faster fix.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Concerned frame used	Frame used 1 time on 12 th October to say China was concerned about Volkswagens defeat devices.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 21 st December 2015 saying after the Volkswagen emissions scandal, German companies have become hesitant to use digitalisation in their products.	Frame used 1 time on 3 rd November 2015 as the Supervisory Board is deeply concerned by the discovery of irregularities in CO2 levels of Volkswagen Group vehicles. (Germany)
Cooperation frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 26 th November 2015 saying Volkswagen will cooperate with Australia.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 7 th January 2016 has Volkswagen will meet with the EPA to discuss the recall.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th September 2016 saying after the charge placed on the Volkswagen engineer, his cooperation is a major break for investigators and a message to others involved to cooperate or face prosecution	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as VW says that they will do anything to gain back the trust of the customers and the public, and that they're doing everything they can to cooperate with the authorities	Frame used 5 times. First time on 10 th October 2015 "We are working with the federals to continue the certification process" – Volkswagen US CEO.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Criminal frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time 16 th August 2016 to say the US has found evidence of Volkswagen acting criminally.	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 to say that Volkswagen could face \$18 billion as a result of their criminal actions.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Crisis frame used	Frame used 9 times. First time on 2 nd March 2016	Frame used 2 times. First time on 1 st October 2015 saying Volkswagen now has criminal investigations, potentially enormous fines and a corporate governance crisis as a result of the scandal.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying that even Textbook crisis management can't save Volkswagen. They need to take responsibility and then focus on rebuilding trust and brand equity.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 28 th April 2016 saying Volkswagen CEO Matthias Mueller has said Volkswagen "is far more than a crises" and he vowed the crises will not slow them down and they will overcome it.	Frame used 1 time on 30 th April 2015 as the German minister says "I have no sympathy for executives who first take a Naboo-listed company to a crisis that threatens their existence and then defend their own bonuses in a public debate".	Frame used 9 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for." – Martin Winterkorn.	Frame used 1 time on 6 th October 2015 as CEO Matthias Müller says "We will overcome this crisis." (Germany)
Deadline frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 13 th November 2015 saying that Volkswagen has set deadline till the end of November for workers to come forward and tell them what they know about the emissions cheating.	Frame used 1 time on 28 th September 2015 saying German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Deception frame used	Frame used 31 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 to say Volkswagen was under investigation for cheating emissions tests.	Frame used 29 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 to say Volkswagen is said to have cheated emissions tests.	Frame used 10 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 saying that the Volkswagen emissions scandal may have Europe's car manufactures to concentrate on hybrid and electric cars.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen has admitted to US regulators the software they used in their cars could sense when it was being tested and could conceal its true emission levels.	Frame used 12 times. First time on 24 th September 2014 as the Indian government has initiated an investigation into possible violations. They have asked testing agency ARAI to look into Volkswagen.	Frame used 15 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn the director of VW apologises. "I personally deeply regret that we have broken the trust of our consumers and the public".	Frame used 28 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is not the only automaker to cheat emissions tests.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn says "I'm very sorry, I'm utterly sorry, I offer my deepest apologies to our customers, the authorities and to the public at large for our misconduct." (Germany)
Defiant frame used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 22 nd September when Martin Winterkorn refuses to quit.	Frame used 1 time on 8 th January 2016 as Volkswagen refuses to give emails and other communications to US attorneys.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 4 th July 2016 saying Herbert Diess, Volkswagen's brand chief, will not resign even though he is the subject of investigation by public prosecutor.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 2 nd march 2016 as Volkswagen announced that the company has submitted a statement of defence to the Braunschweig District Court in relation to the allegation of a violation of disclosure obligations under capital markets law. (Germany)
Denial frame used	Frame used 1 time on 15 th October 2015 when Volkswagens UK boss denies their UK cars emit high pollution.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 5 th December 2015 Volkswagen denies rigging emission standards in India and will continue production and sales.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Disbelief frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 3 rd August 2016 as Bravaria has sued Volkswagen and a member of the Volkswagen board is “surprised” by this.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn says “I am shocked by the events of the past few days. Above all, I am stunned that misconduct on such a scale was possible in the Volkswagen Group.” (Germany)
Dismissing frame used	Frame used 7 times. First time on 1 st October 2015 stating that the Volkswagen scandal was a one off incident.	Frame used 9 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 talking about how the Volkswagen scandal is unlikely to have many repercussions in China.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 11 th December 2015 as Volkswagen says that only “slight deviations” were found in a fraction of the 800,000 cars involved in the emissions scandal investigation so the scandal is not as bad as they feared.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 2 nd November 2015 saying Volkswagen will not cut investment in China despite major losses.	Frame used 6 times. First time on the 5 th October 2015 as Chancellor Angela Merkel has said the turmoil won't have a lasting effect on Germany's reputation.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 25 th November 2015 as Volkswagen will not reduce planned provisions of €6.7 billion for the costs of the emission scandal in diesel vehicles.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 13 th September 2015 “From our point of view there is no reason for doom-mongering. Nothing has changed in that there are millions of people waiting to buy their first car in China. Especially in the country's West, there are huge potentials” – Martin Winterkorn.	Frame used 1 time as Matthias Müller states: “We have to look beyond the current situation and create the conditions for Volkswagen's successful further development.” (Germany)
Environmental frame used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 talking about the amounts of pollution caused by the scandal.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 Volkswagen customers' thought they brought a car that was fuel efficient and environmentally friendly.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying that Australian pollution standards are getting reviewed after the Volkswagen scandal.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 16 th October 2015 saying Volkswagen's pollution cheating program was developed by dozens of managers.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen revealed that 11 million cars worldwide could be affected by their pollution cheating device.	Frame used 3 times. First time in 1 st October 2015 as Audi A3 and Volkswagen Jetta lose their ‘Green car of the year’ status as they are affected by the emissions cheating scandal.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 30 th October 2015 Volkswagen receives the Ig Nobel Prize in Chemistry for “for solving the problem of excessive automobile pollution emissions”	Frame used 5 times. First time on 12 th January 2016 Dr. Thomas Steg, (External Relations/ Government Affairs rep) will report to Müller and take charge of sustainability concerns. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Executive frame used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 talking about Volkswagen presenting different contenders for the new CEO position.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying Volkswagens problems start in the boardroom.	Frame used 1 time on 21 st July 2016 as the decision to cheat emissions tests which involved dozens of engineers and managers also came from the company's boardroom.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 29 th September 2015 saying The appointment of Volkswagens new CEO shows the insularity and clannishness of Germany's corporate governance structure.	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 saying "The governance of Volkswagen was a breeding ground for scandal".	Frame used 3 times. First time on 9 th November 2015 as The rating agency Fitch Ratings announced on Monday that it downgraded Volkswagen's note in two steps. Fitch said the cut in the note reflects "problems of corporate governance, management and internal control	Frame used 8 times. First time on 29 th September 2015 as Volkswagens top managers have Directors and Officers liability insurance worth 500 million euros which can be used to pay claims against VW executives from shareholders and legal expenses.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 4 th March 2016 as The 2016 Annual Press Conference of Volkswagen AG will be held in Wolfsburg on the 28th April 2016.
Existential frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 5 th October 2015 saying Volkswagens next chairman said that the emissions scandal could pose an existential threat to the company.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Fear frame used	Frame used 1 time on 7 th November 2015 to talk about Volkswagen managers being fearful of US prosecution.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 12 th October 2015 saying Martin Winterkorn was a demanding boss who didn't like failure.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 8 th November 2015 as engineers say they were manipulated out of fear of former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Future frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 20 th December 2015 talking about rotating jobs within the company to boost oversight in the future.	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 saying that the Volkswagen scandal have forced Europe's car manufactures to concentrate on hybrid and electric cars.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 29 th September 2015 talking about whether or not the Volkswagen emissions scandal has created a future for electric cars.	Frame not used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 10 th December 2015 as Volkswagen agrees with some steps to improve the supervision of the development of its engine software to avoid future manipulations.	Frame used 1 time on 8 th November 2015 as Engineers say they were manipulated out of fear of former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn.	Frame used 16 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as a statement by the Supervisory Board states that Matthias Müller will lead the company from this point forward. (Germany)
Global issue frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 saying auto emissions tests have come under global scrutiny as a result of the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th December 2015 saying Volkswagen says that the origin of the global pollution-cheating scandal dates back to 2005, and while the current situation is challenging, it will not break the company.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Health frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 29 th October 2015 to talk about how many deaths have been caused by Volkswagen.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 28 th September 2015 to say how many deaths have been caused in the US as a result of emissions scandal.	Frame used 2 times. The first time on the 1 st October 2015 saying how many deaths have been caused as a result of Volkswagen cheating on emissions tests.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Historic frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 6 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 to say that Volkswagen has a long history of ‘sidestepping and duping regulators’.	Frame used 1 time on 28 th June 2016 saying Volkswagen will settle its emissions scandal case for \$14.7 billion (USD), which is the largest pay out by a car maker to consumers in US history.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 3 rd December 2015 saying Volkswagens recall of 3.24 lakh cars becomes a record recall for India.	Frame used 1 time on 8 th January 2016 saying Volkswagens sakes have decreased by 4.8% which is the first time in 11 years.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 22 nd April 2016 saying as a result of the emissions scandal, Volkswagen has recorded losses, the highest in the company’s history.	Frame used 1 time on 16 th June 2016 as Matthias Müller states ““TOGETHER – Strategy 2025”, the future program that we are unveiling today, ushers in the biggest change process in the history of Volkswagen.” (Germany)
Hope frame used	Frame used 1 time on 26 th December 2015 saying Volkswagen buyers are hoping to get cheaper cars due to the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Humour frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 25 th September 2015 to make a joke using Volkswagens logo.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Individual accountability frame used	Frame used 12 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn refuses to quit and apologises.	Frame used 13 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying that Volkswagens problems start in the boardroom and that all decisions are influenced by them.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 28 th September 2015 Volkswagen staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying CEO Martin Winterkorn was summoned to the Volkswagen board to explain the falsification of US emissions tests.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 29 th October 2015 saying Volkswagen believes that 20 people were involved in the emissions rigging scandal.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 Volkswagens technicians and a supplier were warned of the emissions cheating long before the scandal broke.	Frame used 15 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 as Volkswagen will announce an outline for the correction of affected vehicles in a few weeks and the search for the ones responsible for the scandal continues.	Frame not used

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Innocent frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 18 th March 2015 to say that two former top executives of Porsche were found not guilty in regards to the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 13 th December 2015 as the transport ministry has said the reports which were sent to them did not contain any form of violation.	Frame not used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 14 th March 2016 as Volkswagens defence wants the legal claims against former Porsche chiefs to be cleared.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 22 nd October 2016 as Volkswagen confirms today that no software containing defeat device is installed in vehicles with EA 288 EU5 as well as EU6-engines in the European Union. (Germany)
Lack of awareness frame used	Frame used 6 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Australia is yet to confirm the amount of cars affected by the scandal.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 8 th October 2015 saying that nearly 500,000 American owners are still in recall limbo.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying that Australia is unaware if they have been affected by the scandal or not so they are demanding answers from Volkswagen.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Leadership frame used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th October to describe the former CEOs leadership.	Frame used 1 time on 13 th October 2015 saying that Volkswagen is controlled by an aggressive corporate board.	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 12 th October 2015 saying Martin Winterkorn was a demanding boss who didn't like failure.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 "For the future we need a climate in which problems aren't hidden but communicated openly to superiors ... in which you are able and allowed to fight your supervisor about the best way" chief of industrial council.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as a statement by the Supervisory Board states that Matthias Müller will lead the company from this point forward. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Legal frame used	Frame is used 12 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen hires BP lawyers to defend the company.	Frame used 28 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 saying that Lawyer Steve Berman is going to launch a lawsuit on behalf of all Volkswagen customers.	Frame used 9 times. First time on 26 th September 2015 saying that Maurice Blackburn (a leading class action law firm) has announced an investigation into a potential consumer law case against Volkswagen.	Frame used 1 time on 26 th August 2016 saying Volkswagen faces Germany's biggest investor lawsuit, as attorneys filed complaints totalling 8.2 billion euros.	Frame used 8 times. First time on 4 th November 2015 saying India's Government will issue notice to Volkswagen after "significant variations" have been found after testing by ARAI.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 4 th January 2016 as The United States Department of Justice has filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen, accusing them of installing illegal devices in an attempt to circumvent emissions tests on nearly 600,000 vehicles.	Frame used 30 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is facing legal action in the US.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 2 nd March 2016 as Volkswagen announced that the company has submitted a statement of defence to the Braunschweig District Court in relation to the allegation of a violation of disclosure obligations under capital markets law. (Germany)
Lenient frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on the 1 st December 2015 as Volkswagen got two parts of Europe's auto emissions tests removed- provisions to measure the significant pollution released when the engine has started but not warmed up.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Industry issue frame used	Frame used 4 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 the VW emissions scandal could affect the whole car industry.	Frame not used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 27 th September 2015 the VW scandal has forced Europe's car manufactures to concentrate on hybrid and electric cars.	Frame not used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying BMW has been accused of cheating emissions tests.	Frame not used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is not the only automaker to cheat emissions tests.	Frame not used
Insufficient information in the article	No	No	No	No	No	No	23 times throughout the story.	Frame not used
Investigative frame used	Frame used 13 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as the UK calls for EU to investigate into the emissions scandal.	Frame used 13 times. First on 24 th September 2015 as Europe has opened investigations, US have joined federal inquiries and there is criticism over Volkswagen vehicles in South Korean and Brazilian markets.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 26 th September 2015 saying Maurice Blackburn (a leading class action law firm) has announced an investigation into a potential consumer law case against Volkswagen.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying South Korea said it would investigate three of the maker's diesel models.	Frame used 13 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying The Indian government has initiated an investigation into possible violations. They have asked testing agency ARAI to look into Volkswagen.	Frame used 9 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as The initial findings which uncovered Volkswagens emissions cheating were discovered by chance in university laboratories of Morgantown, a city of only 30,000 West Virginia.	Frame used 20 times. Frist time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is undergoing an external investigation and has been asked to find a rapid solution to fix the emissions issues.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
National issue frame used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 when Germany asks Volkswagen to clear up emissions scandal before it has more serious implications on the country.	Frame is used 9 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen diesel scandal 'shoves Berlin off high ground' and 'tarnishing its claim to moral leadership'.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying the Volkswagen emissions scandal has created a negative reputation for the company and Germany as a whole.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 28 th September 2015 saying German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 5 th October 2015 saying Volkswagens next chairman said that the emissions scandal could pose an existential threat to the company. Chancellor Angela Merkel has said the turmoil won't have a lasting effect on Germany's reputation.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 9 th October 2015 as Analysts have estimated that the damage from the Volkswagen emissions scandal will affect the money the company has invested in sports. This will inevitably suffer a reduction and will have a strong impact on Germany.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Alexander Dobrindt (Federal Minister of Transportation) is going to the US to discuss the emissions scandal with US authorities.	Frame not used
New beginning frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 saying Former Volkswagen CEO has resigned saying "Volkswagen needs a fresh start - also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation."	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn says "Volkswagen needs a fresh start - also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation."	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn says "Volkswagen needs a fresh start - also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation." (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Outrage frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 24 th September 2015 to describe a customer letter and their outrage against the company “The VW emblem on the hood has been replaced by a figurative scarlet letter”.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Partnership frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 8 th March 2016 saying Anhui Jianghuai Automobile Co (major Chinese automaker) without a foreign joint venture partner, said it is talking with Volkswagen AG as it seeks to gain more advanced technology.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 24 th October 2015 as Red Bull talked to Volkswagen about Formula 1 partnership after the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used
Accepting accountability frame- Company takes responsibility for scandal	14 times throughout the story. First time on the 20 th September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn apologises for the company breaking public trust.	18 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception has affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception could have affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 saying Volkswagen will dismiss CEO Martin Winterkorn over emissions scandal.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO Michael Horn apologises saying “we totally screwed up”.	12 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as VW says they will do anything to gain back the trust of the customers and the public.	28 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 “I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company’s diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for.”	11 times throughout the company communication. First time on 20 th September 2015 A statement by CEO Martin Winterkorn saying “I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public.” (Germany)

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Accepting accountability frame- An individual(s) takes responsibility for the scandal	7 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn quits over the scandal.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 17 th October 2015 when Martin Winterkorn resigns from Head of Holding Company.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 when CEO Martin Winterkorn resigns.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn has resigned after taking responsibility for rigging US emissions tests.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th November 2015 as Volkswagen's Audi suspends two engineers involved in the emissions scandal.	3 times throughout the story first time on 20 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn the director of VW apologises. "I personally deeply regret that we have broken the trust of our consumers and the public".	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn has been suspended as a result of being under investigation for playing a part in the emissions scandal.	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn says "As CEO I accept responsibility for the irregularities that have been found in diesel engines and have therefore requested the Supervisory Board to agree on terminating my function as CEO of the Volkswagen Group." (Germany)
Pressure frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen is expected to announce their new CEO as the company comes under pressure from the fallout of the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 31 st January 2016 as Volkswagen is not under pressure to sell its truck division and raise money to face the losses of billions of euros.	Frame not used	Frame not used
Progress frame	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 10 th December 2016 as Volkswagen is making progress on all five of the priorities it set at the end of October. (Germany)

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Prolonging frame used	Frame used 5 times. First time on 8 th of October 2015 as US CEO gives complex answers to simple questions from US Congress.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagens CEO says that investigations into the emissions scandal could take months.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 2 nd October 2015 as Volkswagen said it will take longer than expected to investigate the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 24 th December 2015 saying The petition against Volkswagen has been deferred in court.	Frame used 1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen states it postponed the publication of the financial results of 2015 and its annual meeting.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 16 th October 2015 saying with a recall of 2.4 million cars it will take months to fix them all.	Frame used 1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen will set a new date for the publication of the annual accounts for 2015 due to remaining questions and calculations relating to the diesel emissions issue. (Germany)
Prospective frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 14 times. First time on 29 th September 2015 saying Has the Volkswagen emissions scandal created a future for electric cars?	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used
Punishment frame used	Frame used 1 time on 25 th September 2015 talking about punishing the guilty.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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Redemption frame used	Frame not used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 10 th January 2016 saying that Volkswagen is trying to win back US consumers at the annual Detroit auto show.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 14 th October 2015 saying Volkswagen will cut investment plans by \$1.6 million a year to develop electric cars.	Frame used 12 times. First time on 23 rd November 2015 saying Volkswagen Group China's sights are set firmly on new-energy vehicles through electric cars.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 11 th January 2016 saying Mercedes Benz have recovered after a decrease in sales as a result of the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 15 th June 2016 saying CEO Matthias Müller is conducting a comprehensive strategic review that includes budgeting for a focus on growth at any cost, introducing the company in the field of car sharing and enhancing the development of electric vehicles.	Frame used 21 times. First time on 29 th September 2015 as "We have come up with several solutions, of course the focus lies on the customers specifically at the moment." – Chief of branding. Volkswagen is recalling affected vehicles to their workshops to be fixed.	Frame used 9 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Dr. Herbert Diess (CEO of the Volkswagen Passenger Cars brand) states "I assure you that Volkswagen will do everything humanly possible to win back the trust of our customers, the dealerships and the public." (Germany)
Repercussions frame used	Frame used 22 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens shares and sales are affected.	Frame used 14 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 talking about Volkswagen trying to contain scandal but sales fall.	Frame used 9 times. First time on 24 th September saying that the Volkswagen emissions scandal could cost the company \$18 billion in the US alone.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen may find it hard to retain its brand image and sales record in China, its biggest global market.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 3 rd December 2015 saying that after Volkswagens sales have decreased in the US, Volkswagens competitors are set to benefit from the scandal.	Frame used 18 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen stocks have fallen more than 17% in the US as a result of the scandal.	Frame used 34 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens emissions scandal has cost them their profit prognosis as their sales decrease and they face billions of dollars in fines.	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd April 2016 as CEO Matthias Mueller said that the company has set aside €16.2 billion (\$18.18 billion) to cover the costs of the diesel emissions scandal. (Germany)

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Reputation frame used	Frame used 3 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Volkswagens reputation is said to be tarnished.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying the Volkswagen diesel scandal 'shoves Berlin off high ground' and 'tarnishing its claim to moral leadership'.	Frame used 2 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying the Volkswagen emissions scandal has created a negative reputation for the company and Germany as a whole.	Frame used 1 time on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen may find it hard to retain its brand image and sales record in China, its biggest global market.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 23 rd December 2015 saying Volkswagen is planning on getting rid of its slogan 'Das Auto' which means 'The Car'.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as VW says that they will do anything to gain back the trust of the customers and the public, and that they're doing everything they can to cooperate with the authorities.	Frame used 1 time on 22 nd September 2015 "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for." – Martin Winterkorn.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn says 'The violations of these diesel motors by our company go against everything that Volkswagen stands for....at this time I don't yet have the answers to all the questions. I'm utterly sorry that we have damaged trust in this way.' (Germany)
Ridicule frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen receiving the Ig Nobel prize for Chemistry for solving a problem they were part of creating in the first place has been mocked.	Frame not used
Scandal frame used	Frame used 87 times. First time on 18 th of September 2015 to say Volkswagen was under investigation for cheating emissions tests.	Frame used 36 times. First time on 18 th September 2015 to say that Volkswagen is said to have cheated emissions tests.	Frame used 33 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying Australia is demanding answers from Volkswagen about the scandal status.	Frame used 8 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 saying CEO Martin Winterkorn will be dismissed over emissions scandal.	Frame used 20 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO Michael Horn apologises saying "we totally screwed up".	Frame used 23 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen stocks have fallen more than 17% in the US as a result of the scandal.	Frame used 40 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 the scandal has cost VW their profit prognosis as their sales decrease and they face billions of dollars in fines.	Frame used 6 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 CEO says he is "endlessly sorry" and that manipulation at Volkswagen will never happen again. (Germany)

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Solution frame used	Frame used 33 times. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is asked to clear up the scandal.	Frame used 39 times. First time on 19 th September 2015 saying that the US has ordered a major recall after the emissions scandal.	Frame used 19 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 saying Volkswagen will set aside \$7.3 billion (USD) to cover the costs of the scandal.	Frame used 10 times. First time on 28 th September 2015 saying German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.	Frame used 36 times. First time on 15 th September 2015 as Volkswagen said it will continue to evaluate the diesel engines affected by the scandal but the company has not disclosed future product decisions for the US.	Frame used 19 times. First time on 20 th September 2015 as Volkswagen will have to recall half a million cars in the United States	Frame used 54 times. First time on 21 st September as Volkswagen is undergoing an external investigation and has been asked to find a rapid solution to fix the emissions issues.	Frame used 34 times. First time on 22 nd September 2016 as Volkswagen is working at full speed to clarify irregularities concerning a particular software used in diesel engines. (Germany)
Spotlight frame used	Frame used 1 time on 27 th September 2015 talking about other car makers having the potential to come into the spotlight.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 14 th October 2015 saying US movie studio Paramount Pictures and actor Leonardo DiCaprio's production company want to make a movie about the Volkswagen emissions scandal	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 13 th October 2015 saying Leonardo DiCaprio's production company wants to make a movie about the Volkswagen emissions scandal	Frame not used
Staff restructuring frame used	Frame used 10 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 Martin Winterkorn is told to move aside to let someone else take over.	Frame used 13 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn resigns.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn resigns.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 22 nd September 2015 saying Volkswagen will dismiss CEO Martin Winterkorn over emissions scandal.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn quits.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 "Volkswagen needs a fresh start - also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation." CEO	Frame used 7 times. First time on 7 th March 2015 saying Volkswagen needs new top management who will be creative to ensure a successful future for the company.	Frame used 8 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn says "Volkswagen needs a fresh start – also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation." (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Stupidity frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 5 th January 2016 saying How much of Volkswagens stupidity can we excuse?	Frame not used
Technical frame used	Frame used 2 times. First time on 4 th October 2015 explaining how dangerous corporate software can be.	Frame used 7 times. First time on 8 th October 2015 as there is investigations into a second computer program in Volkswagen's diesel cars that also affects the operation of the cars' emission controls.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 28 th September as Volkswagen staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 saying Volkswagen has admitted to US regulators the software they used in their cars could sense when it was being tested and could conceal its true emission levels.	Frame used 5 times. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen revealed that 11 million cars worldwide could be affected by their pollution cheating device.	Frame used 1 time on 3 rd June 2016 as Volkswagen said on Friday that it had received approval from regulatory authorities for technical repairs on some models.	Frame used 12 times. First time on 13 th October 2015 "We will become more efficient, create a new outline for the product range and fundamental technologies and will achieve leeway for future-directed technologies through an accelerated efficiency programme" – Volkswagens chief of branding.	Frame used 4 times. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Dr. Herbert Diess (CEO of the Volkswagen Passenger Cars brand) states "We are working at full speed on a technical solution that we will present to partners" (Germany)
Transparency frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 13 th November 2015 saying Volkswagen has set deadline till the end of November for workers to come forward and tell them what they know about the emissions cheating.	Frame used 1 time on 13 th October 2015 saying China has required Volkswagen to release timely updates on the recall of imported diesel vehicles.	Frame used 1 time on 23 rd May 2016 saying Three investor groups have called for a new independent investigation into the scandal, saying the German inquiries might not have been far-reaching or transparent enough.	Frame not used	Frame used 7 times. First time on 24 th September 2015 "For the future we need a climate in which problems aren't hidden but communicated openly to superiors...in which you are able and allowed to fight your supervisor about the best way" – chief of industrial council.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 22 nd October 2015 as Volkswagen confirms today that no software containing defeat device is installed in vehicles with EA 288 EU5 as well as EU6-engines in the European Union. (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Ultimatum frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 26 th February 2016 US Department of Justice has given Volkswagen an ultimatum- they will not certify any of the company's 2016 2.0-liter diesels models until it has received a credible explanation for what CARB was finding.	Frame not used
Unrealistic frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 3 rd July 2016 "One does not need to be a mathematician to realize that x amounts of compensations would overcharge even VW."- Volkswagen CEO	Frame not used
Vague frame used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 15 th September 2015 as Volkswagen said it will continue to evaluate the diesel engines affected by the scandal but the company has not disclosed future product decisions for the US.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Victim frame used	Frame used 1 time on 8 th October 2015 talking about Volkswagen dealers running out of cars to sell.	Frame used 1 time on 1 st October 2015 saying that dealers have fallen victim to the emissions scandal.	Frame used 3 times. First time on 2 nd October 2015 as hundreds of dealerships are anxious to learn how to fix diesel cars that have been affected by the scandal.	Frame not used	Frame used 1 time on 1 st October 2015 saying The Volkswagen emissions scandal is affected hundreds of dealerships around the US.	Frame not used	Frame not used	Frame not used

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10.3 COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE VOLKSWAGEN EMISSIONS SCANDAL STORY

Comparative Table: The Volkswagen emissions scandal story								
	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mentions where the initial findings were uncovered	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 stating the initial findings which uncovered Volkswagens emissions cheating were discovered by chance in university laboratories of Morgantown, a city of only 30,000 West Virginia.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Story commencement date	The Guardian published their first article on the story on the 18 th September 2015.	The New York Times published their first article on the story on the 18 th September 2015.	The Sydney Morning Herald published their first article on the story on the 21 st September 2015.	China Daily published their first article on the story on 22 nd September 2015.	Times of India published their first article on the story on 15 th September 2015.	O GLOBO published their first article on the story on 18 th September 2015.	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung published their first article on the story on the 3 rd September 2015.	Volkswagen's company communication commenced on the 20 th September 2015. Volkswagen's company communication is in Germany and in the USA.
First publications synopses and frame(s)	Volkswagen is under investigation for using illegal software to cheat emission levels in their diesel engines. The story was framed using a company accountability frame, scandal frame and deception frame.	Volkswagen is said to have cheated emissions tests. The story was framed using a company accountability frame, scandal frame and deception frame.	The EPA states that Volkswagen could face up to \$18 billion (USD) in fines as a result of cheating emissions tests. The story was framed using a company accountability frame.	Volkswagen will dismiss CEO Martin Winterkorn over emissions scandal. The story was framed using an accepting accountability frame, scandal frame and staff restructuring frame.	Volkswagen said it will continue to evaluate the diesel engines affected by the scandal but the company has not disclosed future product decisions for the US. The story was framed using a solution frame and vague frame.	US EPA notified Volkswagen that the company will have to recall of nearly half a million cars in the US. And also face up to \$18 Billion (USD) in fines. The story was framed using a company accountability frame.	Volkswagen to appoint a new chairman of the board. Ferdinand Piech has retired and Hans Dieter Pötsch is the candidate for the position.	Volkswagen released a statement by CEO Martin Winterkorn saying "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public." (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Outsiders voice enters the story	60 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 the UK calls for the EU to investigate the emissions scandal.	62 times throughout the story. First time on 18 th September 2015 talking about the US ordering a big recall.	33 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st September 2015 as the EPA states that Volkswagen could face up to \$18 billion in fines.	28 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as South Korea says it will investigate three of Volkswagens diesel models.	34 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 saying BMW has been accused of cheating emissions tests after the Volkswagen emissions scandal broke	33 times throughout the story. First time on 18 th September 2015 as The US EPA notified Volkswagen that the company will have to recall of nearly half a million cars in the US. And also face up to \$18 Billion (USD) in fines.	102 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen faces legal action in the US.	10 times throughout the company communications. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers their investigations (Germany)
First time company speaks out	20th September 2015 CEO Martin Winterkorn apologises for the company breaking public trust.	22 nd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception could have affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	23 rd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception could have affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	24 th September 2015 as former Volkswagen CEO resigns saying "Volkswagen needs a fresh start - also in terms of personnel. I am clearing the way for this fresh start with my resignation."	22 nd September 2015 saying Volkswagen said it will continue to evaluate the diesel engines affected by the scandal but the company has not disclosed future product decisions for the US.	20 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn the director of VW apologises. "I personally deeply regret that we have broken the trust of our consumers and the public".	22 nd September 2015 "I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company's diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for." – Martin Winterkorn.	20 th September 2015 Volkswagen released a statement by CEO Martin Winterkorn saying "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public." (Germany)
Volkswagen gives first public update on the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	7 th December 2015 as Volkswagen CEO is expected to give his first public update on their internal investigation into the emissions scandal this week.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	27 th September 2015 as Volkswagen will announce an outline for the correction of affected vehicles in a few weeks and the search for the ones responsible for the scandal continues.	25 th September 2015 as "We are working at full speed on a technical solution that we will present to partners"

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Company takes responsibility for scandal (Accepting accountability frame)	14 times throughout the story. First time on the 20 th September 2015 as CEO Martin Winterkorn apologises for the company breaking public trust.	18 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception has affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 when Volkswagen states that their deception could have affected 11 million vehicles worldwide.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 saying Volkswagen will dismiss CEO Martin Winterkorn over emissions scandal.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO Michael Horn apologises saying “we totally screwed up”.	12 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as VW says that they will do anything to gain back the trust of the customers and the public, and that they’re doing everything they can to cooperate with the authorities.	28 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 “I am endlessly sorry that we disappointed this trust. I apologize in all forms to our customers, the authorities and the entire public for this misdemeanour. The irregularities of our company’s diesel motor oppose everything that Volkswagen stands for.” – Martin Winterkorn.	11 times throughout the company communication. First time on 20 th September 2015 Volkswagen released a statement by CEO Martin Winterkorn saying “I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public.” (Germany)
An individual(s) takes responsibility for the scandal (Accepting accountability frame)	7 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn quits over the scandal.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 17 th October 2015 when Martin Winterkorn resigns from Head of Holding Company.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 when CEO Martin Winterkorn resigns.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 saying Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn has resigned after taking responsibility for rigging US emissions tests.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th November 2015 as Volkswagen’s Audi suspends two engineers involved in the emissions scandal.	3 times throughout the story first time on 20 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn the director of VW apologises. “I personally deeply regret that we have broken the trust of our consumers and the public”.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn has been suspended as a result of being under investigation for playing a part in the emissions scandal.	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn says “As CEO I accept responsibility for the irregularities that have been found in diesel engines and have therefore requested the Supervisory Board to agree on terminating my function as CEO of the Volkswagen Group.” (Germany)

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
CEO Resigns	23 rd September 2015	23 rd September 2015	24 th September 2015	23 rd September 2015	23 rd September 2015	23 rd September 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	23 rd September 2015
New CEO appointed	25 th September 2015	25 th September 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	25 th September 2015	24 th September 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	24 th September 2015	25 th September 2015
US CEO Resigns	9 th March 2016	Newspaper does not report on this	10 th March 2016	Newspaper does not report on this	10 th March 2016	1 time on 9 th March 2016 as Volkswagen announced on Wednesday unexpected departure from its director general in the United States.	10 th March 2016	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen North American CEO resigns	Newspaper does not report on this.	14 th October 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Martin Winterkorn resigns as Head of Holding Company	Newspaper does not report on this.	17 th October 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Martin Winterkorn steps down from Audi management board	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	11 th December 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagens chief designer retires	Newspaper does not report on this.	6 th November 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Audi executive resigns after suspension	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 th December 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 th December 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen makes former BMW executive CEO of Volkswagen North America	Newspaper does not report on this.	20 th January 2016	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
New North American CEO quits	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	15 th October 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Former head of Porsche resigns	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 rd May 2016	Company communication does not mention this.
After being suspended, Porsche's top developer has quit	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 rd May 2016	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Audi's head of technical development resigns/ steps down	Newspaper does not report on this.	26 th September 2016	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	27 th September 2016	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen names Apple's Johann Jungwirth head of digital strategy	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	10 th November 2015	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Matthias Müller takes over Audi's supervisory committee	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 th December 2015	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagens Head of Brand Communications has resigned	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 st December 2015
Volkswagen elects chairman of supervisory board	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	7 th October 2015
Volkswagens Head of Corporate Business Communications leaves the company	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	9 th November 2015
Volkswagen appoints head of quality assurance	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	8 th February 2016
Countries involved in the scandal	UK, France, US, Australia, Switzerland, Italy, China, South Korea and Germany.	US, China, South Korea, Brazil, France, Canada and Germany.	US, Australia, Europe, Switzerland and Germany	South Korea, US, China and Germany.	India, US, South Korea, Spain and Germany	US, UK, France, South Korea, Portugal, Spain, Brazil and Norway.	EU, US, Canada, South Korea, Spain, Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, Belgium, China, Japan, France and Germany.	US and Europe

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mentions Volkswagen car owners/customers specifically	6 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Volkswagen owners start hiring lawyers.	9 times throughout the story. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Lawyer Steve Berman is going to launch a lawsuit on behalf of all Volkswagen customer affected by the scandal.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 25 th September 2015 as More than 40,000 car owners could be affected by the Volkswagen scandal.	No	2 times throughout the story. First time on 18 th December 2015 as Volkswagen is creating an independent claims program for the owners of nearly 600,000 diesel vehicles affected by the scandal.	No	5 times throughout the story. First time on 16 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has created a checklist for customers regarding their affected cars.	4 times throughout the company communication. First time on 20 th September 2015 CEO says "I personally am deeply sorry that we have broken the trust of our customers and the public." (Germany)
Mentions Volkswagen dealers specifically	1 time during the story on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagen dealers in the US are running out of cars to sell as the Volkswagen emission scandal deepens.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 1 st October 2015 as Volkswagen dealers have fallen victim to the emissions scandal as it threatens hundreds of dealerships.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Over 100 dealers are still in the dark over how many cars are affected by the Volkswagen scandal.	1 time during the story on 29 th August 2016 as Volkswagen has agreed to spend more than \$1.2 billion to compensate 650 US dealers for their losses as a result of the scandal.	1 time during the story on 1 st October 2015 as The Volkswagen emissions scandal is affected hundreds of dealerships around the US.	No	1 time during the story on 29 th February 2015 as A Volkswagen buyer litigates a local VW dealership to return his car.	1 time during company commination on 25 th September 2015 as Herbert Diess (CEO of the Volkswagen Passenger Cars brand) says "I assure you that Volkswagen will do everything humanly possible to win back the trust of our customers, the dealerships and the public." (Germany)
Periods of high reporting (more than 3 articles in a day)	22 nd September 2015 seven articles, 23 rd September 2015 four articles, 24 th September 2015 seven articles, 25 th September seven articles, 4 th October 2015 four articles, 8 th	22 nd September 2015 seven articles, 23 rd September 2015 five articles, 24 th September 2015 seven articles and 25 th September 2015 four articles.	23 rd September 2015 four articles, 24 th September six articles and 25 th September five articles.	No	24 th September 2015 four articles.	No	21 st September 2015 four articles, 22 nd September 2015 four articles, 28 th September 2015 four articles, 29 th September 2015 four articles, 28 th October 2015 four articles, 4 th November 2015	22 nd September 2015 four articles and 25 th September 2015 four articles.

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	October 2015 eight articles, 12 th October 2015 four articles, 15 th October 2015 six articles and 4 th November 2015 five articles.						five articles, 28 th April 2016 five articles, 21 st June 2016 four articles, 28 th June 2016 four articles.	
Periods of low reporting (Months)	There are two months were news reporting for the Volkswagen emissions scandal slowed down, these were May 2016 and August 2016. During these months newspapers were reporting on other world events such as the EU referendum (Brexit) which was scheduled for June 2016 and the 2016 Olympics in Rio.							Low company communication in January 2015, March 2016, May 2016, July 2016, August 2016 and September 2016.
Frequent Authors	Graham Ruddick is the most frequent author for this newspaper. This author is the main author or co-author of 23.64% of articles. They predominantly writes about what is going on within the company, the actions they are take and who else is involved in the scandal. Examples: 22nd September 2015 they wrote about the Volkswagen CEO quitting. 23rd September 2015 they wrote about Volkswagen hiring the same lawyer as the BP Oil Spill scandal. 26th September	Jack Ewing is the most frequent author for this newspaper. This author is the main author or co-author of 49% of articles. There are bursts of their reporting over large time periods when there is a new development in the scandal. There are three examples of this: Reporting from 19th – 21st September 2015 with four articles about the United states ordering a recall, Volkswagen stopping the sales of cars in the US and Volkswagens stock falls. Reporting from 2nd – 24th March	Li Fusheng is the most frequent author for this newspaper. She is the main author or co-author of 26% of articles. She predominantly writes articles about Volkswagen rebuilding their reputation and rectifying the emissions scandal issues. Examples: 2nd November 2015 author wrote about Volkswagen not cutting investments into China despite major losses, 11th November 2015 author wrote about Volkswagens Phaeton vehicle is	This newspaper publishes the majority of articles with a different author every time. Andreas Cremer is the most frequent author for this newspaper with 8.2% of articles. This author writes articles regarding accountability and repercussions for the scandal. Examples: 24 th September 2015 they wrote about Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn resigning and taking responsibility for the scandal. 28 th September 2015 they wrote about how Volkswagen	Pankaj Doval is the most frequent author for this newspaper. This author is an outside agency author from TNN as this newspaper uses authors from outside agencies for the majority of this story. This author write articles about investigations into the scandal and solutions for the scandal. Examples: 24 th September 2015 the author wrote about The Indian government initiating an investigation into possible violations and that they have asked testing the agency ARAI to	Krisztian Bocsi is the most frequent author for this newspaper. This author is the main author or co-author of 18.3% of articles. They predominantly write about accountability, investigations and corrective actions. Examples: 18 th September 2015 they wrote that the US EPA notified Volkswagen that the company will have to recall nearly half a million cars in the US. And also face up to \$18 Billion (USD) in fines. 22 nd October 2015 they wrote that Volkswagen	Thomas Fromm is the most frequent author for this newspaper. This author is the main author or co-author of 12.44% of articles. They predominantly write about what is happening within the company and the actions they are taking to resolve the emissions issues. Examples: 28 th September 2015 they wrote about Martin Winterkorn receiving his company bonus worth millions. 10 th December 2015 they wrote about Volkswagen CEO Matthias Müller saying I give you my word and Volkswagen will not rest until we	61/71 so 85.9% of company communications came were published on Volkswagens company website.

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	<p>2015 they wrote about Switzerland getting involved, 30th September 2015 they wrote about how many car are affected across the UK, 2nd October they wrote about France and Italy starting investigation and on the 22nd August 2016 they wrote about a dispute between one of their suppliers.</p>	<p>2016 with five articles about Volkswagen being accused of knowing about the emissions issues since 2014, German prosecutors expanding their investigation and top executives were found guilty of stock market manipulation. Reporting from 20th April – 20th June 2016 with nine articles about CEO apologising to US president, Volkswagen employees quitting, profit drops, Volkswagen destroying evidence and former CEO under investigation.</p>	<p>the official car for the orchestra tour in China, 18th January 2016 author writes about Volkswagen apologizing and developing a new strategy that focuses on customer experience, 22nd February 2016 author wrote about Volkswagen unveiling new environmentally friendly vehicle, 29th April 2016 author wrote about Volkswagens plans to launch seven new electric and plug-in hybrid cars on the Chinese market.</p>	<p>staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke. 22nd September 2016 they wrote about Volkswagen facing \$12 billion in damages claims from investors over the emissions scandal.</p>	<p>look into Volkswagen. 29th September 2015 the author wrote about Volkswagen initiating an internal investigation to see how many diesel models and variants of its brands Audi, VW and Skoda may have been affected by cheating emissions tests. 8th October 2015 the author wrote about Volkswagen India recalling nearly 400 units of its Polo compact cars, for "inspection and preventive repair" of the handbrake mechanism.</p>	<p>said on Thursday that it was investigating whether a larger number of vehicles than previously revealed were equipped with software designed to deceive emissions testing. 27th June 2016 they wrote that Volkswagen signs agreement with US authorities to pay \$15 billion for damages caused by emissions fraud of diesel-powered vehicles.</p>	<p>have uncovered the whole truth. 26th January 2016 they wrote about Volkswagen providing information for customers regarding the emissions scandal. 4th July 2016 they wrote about Herbert Diess (brand manager) stating that he is "convinced that I have behaved correctly at every point in time" and 29th September 2016 they wrote "The question isn't 'will VW make it?', but 'how will VW make it?'." – Volkswagen CEO. Volkswagen introduces of a new brand of vehicles just in two months as they focus on rebranding.</p>	
Author as an outside agency	35/165 so 21.2% of articles used a different agency as the author.	11/151 so 7.3% of articles used a different agency as the author.	8/85 so 9.4% of articles used a different agency as the author.	18/50 so 36% of articles used a different agency as the author.	87/94 so 92.6% of articles used a different agency as the author.	23/82 so 28% of articles used a different agency as the author.	0/0 so 0% of articles used a different agency as the author.	10/71 so 14.08% of company communications were published with a different agency as the author.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mentions Volkswagens sales decreasing	7 times throughout the story First time on 22 nd September 2016 as the emissions scandal is having a negative impact on Volkswagens sales.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 2 nd October 2015 as Volkswagen sales are flat in first report since the scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout story. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Volkswagen may find it hard to retain its brand image and sales record in China, its biggest global market.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 3 rd December 2015 as After Volkswagens sales have decreased in the US, Volkswagens competitors are set to benefit from the scandal.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 17 th November 2015 as Volkswagen's European sales and market share fell in October.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens emissions scandal has cost them their profit prognosis as their sales decrease and they face billions of dollars in fines.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mentions Volkswagens sales increasing	1 time on 13 th May 2016 as Volkswagen sales rise for the first time since the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 17 th February 2015 as Volkswagen AG is confident its China sales may rise in line with the overall auto market this year.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 8 th July 2016 as Sales in China have increased.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mentions Volkswagens shares decreasing	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2016 as the emissions scandal is having a negative impact on Volkswagens shares.	1 time on 22 nd September 2016 as Volkswagen tries to contain fallout but shares fall.	1 time on 25 th September 2015 as the market capitalisation of Volkswagen has decreased fifteen per cent in two days.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 24 th September 2015 as Volkswagens shares drop to 2-year low.	1 time on 17 th November 2015 as Volkswagen's European sales and market share fell in October.	1 time on 15 th April 2016 as Volkswagens market share decreases to a five year low as a result of the scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mentions Volkswagens shares increasing	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mention of the Volkswagens profits decreasing	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 28 th July 2016 as Volkswagen reported a 12 per cent drop in quarterly profit at its main passenger car division.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 times throughout story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens emissions scandal has cost them their profit prognosis as their sales decrease and they face billions of dollars in fines.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of Volkswagens profits increasing	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 20 th July 2016 as Matthias Müller, the CEO of Volkswagen, has increased the company's profits more quickly than expected.	Newspaper does not report on this	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 31 st may 2016 as Volkswagen still made a profit even after a 19% drop in sales in the first three months after the scandal broke. The company called it a "respectable" loss.	1 time on 20 th July 2016 as Volkswagen said that operating profit in the first half before non-recurring events rose 7% to € 7.5 billion.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mentions financial cost of scandal	4 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd April 2016 as The emissions scandal will cost Volkswagen €16 billion and they have also incurred €4 billion in losses.	2 times throughout scandal. First time on 25 th April as Volkswagen has reported a record loss for 2015 and has set aside over \$18 billion to cover the cost of fines, legal claims and recalls in the countries affected by the emissions cheating.	3 times throughout scandal. First time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagen faces up to \$54.6 billion in costs as a result of the scandal.	1 time on 29 th June 2016 as the emissions scandal will cost Volkswagen more than \$15 billion.	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagen reserve US \$ 7.3 billion per Emissions scandal.	1 time on 3 rd July 2016 as Volkswagen is shelving 16.2 billion Euros so far in order to solve crisis.	1 time on 22 nd April 2016 as CEO Matthias Mueller said that the company has set aside €16.2 billion (\$18.18 billion) to cover the costs of the diesel emissions scandal.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Talks about electric/hybrid cars	2 times the throughout story. First time on 21 st February 2016 as The EPA asks Volkswagen to make electric cars.	1 time on 16 th June as Volkswagen will increase the production of electric cars and reduce costs to increase profit after the scandal.	3 times throughout the scandal. First time on 27 th September 2015 as the Volkswagen scandal have forced Europe's car manufactures to concentrate on hybrid and electric cars.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th September 2015 saying has the Volkswagen emissions scandal created a future for electric cars?	2 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th May 2016 as Volkswagen is considering building a multi-billion-euro battery factory as part of a major expansion of its electric-car portfolio.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd February 2015 as Volkswagen could be forced to undo the environmental damage by way of fines or a Volkswagen funded program to build the infrastructure to power electric cars.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd February 2016 as the US wants to make sure Volkswagen can only produce electric vehicles as a result of the emissions scandal.	1 time on 22 nd June 2016 as Matthias Müller says Volkswagen will invest billions of dollars into the coming years in a major "electrification initiative second to none in the industry."
Watchdog/ Whistle-blower is mentioned	3 times the throughout story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as a whistle blower claims the Volkswagen emissions scandal could extend to other companies and countries.	2 times throughout the scandal. First time on 8 th November 2015 as Volkswagen's recent disclosure of its emissions cheating to European regulators was prompted by an internal whistle-blower.	1 time on 13 th November 2015 as Volkswagen sets a deadline for the end of November for scandal whistle-blowers	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Pollution/ pollutants are mentioned	2 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 the VW scandal caused nearly 1m tonnes of extra Pollution.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd October 2015 as More Volkswagen engines might have violated the European pollution regulations.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Australian pollution standards are getting reviewed after the	3 times throughout story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring	2 times throughout story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen revealed that 11 million cars worldwide could be affected by their pollution cheating device.	9 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as That the company could receive up to \$18 billion (USD) in penalties for fraud polluting emissions.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 30 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has been awarded the Ig Nobel Prize in Chemistry for "for solving the problem of excessive automobile	Company communication does not mention this.

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			Volkswagen scandal.	all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.			pollution emissions by automatically, electromechanically producing fewer emissions whenever the cars are being tested” - Ig Nobel officials.	
Volkswagen CEO is labelled a hero	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 Volkswagen talking about the fallen CEO and labelling him as a hero.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Countries to conduct investigations into the emissions scandal	4 times throughout story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as UK calls for EU investigation into emissions scandal.	9 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Europe open up investigations.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th October 2015 as US regulators have started a second investigation into another computer program that affects emissions in Volkswagen's diesel vehicles.	2 times throughout story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as South Korea said it would investigate three of the maker's diesel models.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as The Indian government has initiated an investigation into possible violations. They have asked the testing agency ARAI to look into Volkswagen.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 10 th October 2015 as The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is investigating a second emissions control program in Volkswagens cars.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 30 th September 2015 as The EU commissions is investigating Volkswagen.	1 time on 25 th September 2015 as The Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data.
Countries conducting emissions tests	3 times throughout story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as the UK will be retesting Volkswagens vehicles as part of the investigations into the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 times throughout story. First time on 29 th September 2015 as Bengal, the PVD and RTA have the infrastructure to test if a car's emission is complying with the accepted standard.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 The company is now at the beginning of a long and painful series of corrective actions. France and the UK will tests vehicles.	1 time on 10 th October 2015 as US investigators test further suspicious emissions software Volkswagen has used.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Martin Winterkorn pay out mentioned	2 times throughout the scandal First time on 24 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn receives a company pay out of €28 million, the company is said to be looking after its own.	Newspaper does not report on this	1 time on 24 th September 2015 as Former CEO Martin Winterkorn has received a \$32 million (USD) pay out after resigning from the company.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn - who was forced to leave office in September after the discovery of the company's car-emission data fraud earned \$8.2 million.	1 time on 18 th December 2015 as Former CEO Martin Winterkorn is still earning millions of dollars in salary post scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Outside country bans/halts/ suspends sales of Volkswagen vehicles	3 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th September 2016 as Switzerland is banning the sales of Volkswagen models affected by the scandal.	1 time on 2 nd August 2016 as South Korea has stopped the sales of 80 Volkswagen models after the scandal.	1 time on 29 th September 2015 as Switzerland has placed a ban on the sale of all Volkswagen's cars and trucks.	1 time on 3 rd August 2016 as South Korea has fined Volkswagen 17.8 billion won (\$16 million) and suspended sales of 80 of their vehicle models.	1 time on 14 th December 2015 as the National Green Tribunal has called for a ban after Delhi residents asked for a ban on the sales of Volkswagen vehicles after alleged violation of emission standards.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th October 2015 as Sales of some Volkswagen diesel models are suspended in Portugal and Spain.	1 time on 2 nd August 2016 as South Korea has banned the sales of many Volkswagen models as a result of the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Investigations into Martin Winterkorn involvement in the scandal.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as new investigations are launched looking into the former CEO's involvement in the emissions cheating.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th September 2015 as Former CEO, Martin Winterkorn, is under investigation.	1 time on 21 st June 2015 as an investigation has been launched into former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn and another senior executive who are suspected of market manipulation.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn has been suspended as a result of being under investigation for playing a part in the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Martin Winterkorn is said to not be under investigation	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 2 nd October 2015 as German prosecutes state that the former CEO is NOT under investigation.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Matthias Müller is involved in the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 20 th July 2016 as three lawsuits say that Volkswagen CEO Matthias Müller was involved in the scandal having known about the issue before the scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 19 th July 2016 as A lawsuit which has been filed against Volkswagen now includes the involvement of CEO Matthias Müller.	Company communication does not mention this.
Vehicle recall mentioned	5 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th October 2015 as Australia will launch a recall of 90,000 vehicles affected by the scandal.	9 times throughout the story. First time on 18 th September 2015 as US orders a big recall after scandal breaks.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 16 th October 2015 as German prosecutors have told Volkswagen to recall 8.5 million vehicles affected by the scandal.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 13 th October 2015 as China has required Volkswagen to release timely updates on the recall of imported diesel vehicles.	14 times throughout the story. First time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagen India is recalling nearly 400 units of its Polo compact cars, for "inspection and preventive repair" of the handbrake mechanism.	5 times throughout the story 18 th September 2015 as the US EPA notified Volkswagen that the company will have to recall of nearly half a million cars in the US. And also face up to \$18 Billion (USD) in fines.	22 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th September 2015 as "We have come up with several solutions, of course the focus lies on the customers specifically at the moment." – Chief of branding. Volkswagen is recalling affected vehicles to their workshops to be fixed.	2 times throughout company communication. First time on 2 nd February 2016 as Dr. Herbert Diess states: "The start of the recall is taking us a great step forwards", "Our customers are getting a good technical solution for their car and can also rely on quick implementation of the modification."

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Blame is placed on employees	2 times throughout the story. First time 30 th September 2015 as Volkswagen director says staff acted criminally.	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as The chairman of Volkswagen said that the decision by employees to cheat on emissions tests was made more than a decade ago.	1 time on 11 th December 2015 as the CEO of Volkswagen said that the decision by employees to cheat emissions tests was made more than a decade ago.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time at 20 th July 2016 as allegations have been made that Volkswagen employees knew that diesel vehicles had the emissions cheating software in them.	1 time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagen's diesel pollutant emissions test fraud was not a company decision, but the result of the actions of a small group of engineers.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen mentions their company logo	1 time on 19 th June 2016 as Volkswagen has axed its slogan 'Das Auto' as it was too pretentious and now the company has vowed to be transparent	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 11 th December 2015 as the CEO of Volkswagen said that the decision by employees to cheat emissions tests was made more than a decade ago.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 25 th September 2015 as the newspaper makes a joke about the logo.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of the number of vehicle affected by the scandal	2 times throughout the story 30 th September 2015 as 1.2 million Vehicles in the UK have been affected by the emissions scandal.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagen states that due to their deception 11 million cars have been affected worldwide.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen has said that 11 million vehicles could be affected by the scandal worldwide.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen revealed that 11 million cars worldwide could be affected by their pollution cheating device.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 8 th June 2016 as Approval of the technical solutions for around 1.1 million further Group vehicles confirmed by the Federal Motor Transport Authority

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Scandal is labelled one off incident	1 time on 1 st October 2015 as The motor industry CEO says the Volkswagen scandal was a one off incident.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 2 nd December as the Indian government has termed the Volkswagen emissions scandal to be a “well thought out crime”.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Emissions cheating is said to have not been a one-time error	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as the chairman of Volkswagen said that the decision by employees to cheat on emissions tests was made more than a decade ago.	1 time on 11 th December 2015 as the CEO of Volkswagen said that the decision by employees to cheat emissions tests was made more than a decade ago.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as The Chairman of Volkswagen, Hans Dieter Poetsch states: "we are not talking about a one-off mistake but a whole chain of mistakes that was not interrupted at any point along the timeline." (Germany)
Volkswagen is reviewing its investments/ spending cuts	2 times throughout the story. First time on 6 th October 2015 as staff are told the companies investments are under review as they struggle to deal with the emissions scandal.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th November 2015 as Volkswagen will begin cutting costs in order to pay for the scandal.	2 times throughout story. First time on 7 th October 2015 as Volkswagen will undergo massive cut backs in order to pay for the scandal.	1 time on 21 st April 2016 as Volkswagen is cutting investments and laying off employees and putting those investments into China.	1 time on 20 th November 2015 as Volkswagens CEO says they will cut spending by 1 billion euros to “strictly prioritize” investments to manage finances during the scandal.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th October 2015 as Analysts have estimated that the damage from the Volkswagen emissions scandal will affect the money the company has invested in sports.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 20 th November 2015 as Volkswagen is prioritising their investments to cope with the fallout of the scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mention of executive bonuses	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Volkswagens executives' pay packages remain high even after the emissions scandal.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Volkswagen might reduce top executives compensation packages to send a message to prospective managers, customers and regulators.	1 time on 14 th April 2016 as Volkswagens managers have been reluctant to give up their bonuses which has angered the German public and company shareholders as they have suffered heavy losses due to the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 10 th April 2016 as Volkswagens CEO Matthias Mueller will aim for a significant reduction in the management board's bonuses.	1 time on 12 th April 2016 as Volkswagen may make significant cuts to its executives' bonuses.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 Will Martin Winterkorn still receive his company bonus worth millions?	1 time on 22 nd April 2016 as The Supervisory Board and the Board of Management of Volkswagen have agreed on a reduction of Board of Management remunerations for the rest of 2015. (Germany)
German minister criticizes Volkswagen executives for not getting their bonuses	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 30 th April 2016 saying "I have no sympathy for executives who first take a Naboo-listed company to a crisis that threatens their existence and then defend their own bonuses in a public debate".	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Timeframe for repair of affected vehicles mentioned	1 time on 6 th October 2015 as Volkswagens CEO talks about all affected cars being repaired by the end of 2016.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 28 th September 2015 as German authorities have given Volkswagen a deadline of Oct 7 to set out a timeline to bring all its diesel cars in line with national pollution standards.	1 time on 2 nd December 2015 as Volkswagen is said to be able to fix vehicles affected by the emissions scandal in 33-34 weeks.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 7 th of October 2016 "If everything goes as planned, we can start recalling the vehicles from January onwards. Therefore all cars should be alright by the end of 2016. [...] We don't need three solutions but thousands" – Volkswagen CEO.	1 time on 10 th December 2016 as Volkswagen is making progress on all five of the priorities it set at the end of October. This includes technical solutions.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen knowingly sold new cars equipped with defeat devices after the scandal broke	2 times throughout the story. First time on the 1 st October 2015 as Volkswagen sold cars equipped with defeat devices in the UK even after the emissions scandal broke in the US.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen offices are raided	1 time on 8 th October 2015 as German prosecutors have raided Volkswagen offices as part of the investigations into the emissions scandal.	1 time on 18 th October 2015 as the French police have searched Volkswagens French offices.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 8 th October 2015 as German prosecutors raided Volkswagen's headquarters and other offices as part of their investigation into the emissions scandal.	1 time on 19 th February 2015 as Prosecutors raided Volkswagens South Korean office as a part of the investigation into the emissions cheating scandal.	1 time on 18 th October 2015 as French authorities have searched the country's VW headquarters as part of a local investigation into the emissions testing fraud scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of the danger of corporate software	1 time on 4 th October 2015 saying Volkswagens 'neat hack' exposes the danger of corporate software.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
CEO of Volkswagen America says he feels "personally deceived"	8 th October 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO says he feels "personally deceived" by the outcomes of the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen managers turned a blind eye to emissions cheating	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 25 th October 2015 as investigations focus on Volkswagen managers turning a blind eye towards the emissions cheating.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 16 th October 2015 as Volkswagen's pollution cheating program was developed by dozens of managers.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 6 th March 2016 as Volkswagens top executives, including former CEO Martin Winterkorn, kept the emissions cheating a secret.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen or Volkswagen management knew of cheating emissions testing before the scandal broke	2 times throughout the story. First time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO Michael Horn has admitted he knew of the emissions rigging back in 2014.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 4 th October 2015 as Volkswagens engine rigging might have been in operation since 2008.	1 time on 28 th September 2015 as Volkswagen staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 time throughout the story. First time on 3 rd March 2016 as Former CEO of Volkswagen Martin Winterkorn reportedly received emails about the company's emissions crises a year before it became public.	1 time on 15 th February 2016 as A high-level official warned Volkswagen's CEO in May 2014 that US regulators could examine the company's car engine software as part of an overarching pollution investigation.	1 time on 14 th February 2016 as Former Volkswagen CEO Martin Winterkorn was reportedly told about the emissions issues back in 2014.	Company communication does not mention this.
European commission knew emissions cheating before the scandal broke	1 time on 20 th June 2016 as Documents seen by Guardian show that the commission's in-house science service was told that tests had uncovered what was suspected to be a 'defeat device' in 2010.	1 time on 7 th February 2016 as European officials new that Volkswagen fell below pollution limits years before the scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen vehicles have something other than high emissions levels wrong with them	2 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th October 2015 as 3.6 million Volkswagen vehicles in Europe need major changes as well as an emissions fix.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	4 times throughout story. First time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagen India is recalling nearly 400 units of its Polo compact cars, for "inspection and preventive repair" of the handbrake mechanism.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th March 2016 as an electrical problem has resulted in a recall of 63,000 Passat vehicles for Volkswagen.	Company communication does not mention this.
Investigators find multiple emissions cheating programs	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 time throughout the story. First time on 8 th October 2015 as Federal and California regulators have begun an investigation into a second computer program in Volkswagen's diesel cars that also affects the operation of the cars' emission controls.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 14 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has disclosed to US regulators that there could be further software in their 2016 diesel models which help cheat emissions tests.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 10 th October 2015 as The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) is investigating a second emissions control program in Volkswagens cars.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Company communication does not mention this.
EU investigating/ demands bank loans back	1 time on 11 th October 2015 as The EU could demand loans back from Volkswagen as a result from the emissions scandal.	1 time on 16 th December 2015 as European anti-fraud investigators are looking into whether Volkswagen misused millions of dollars in low-interest loans.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 14 th January 2016 as Volkswagen CEO says "Volkswagen has been having confidential conversations with the European Investment Bank for months."	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen promises to do the right thing over the emissions scandal	2 times throughout the story. First time on 15 th October 2015 as Volkswagens UK CEO says the company promises to do the right thing over the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 5 th November 2015 as Volkswagen CEO: "From the very start I have pushed hard for the relentless and comprehensive clarification of events," and "We will stop at nothing and nobody."	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as VW says that they will do anything to gain back the trust of the customers and the public, and that they're doing everything they can to cooperate with the authorities.	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as Volkswagen CEO Matthias Müller says I give you my word and Volkswagen will not rest until we have uncovered the whole truth.	2 times throughout company communication. First time on 25 th September 2015 as "I assure you that Volkswagen will do everything humanly possible to win back the trust of our customers, the dealerships and the public."
Mention of individuals still trusting Volkswagen after the scandal	1 time on 20 th October 2015 as Two-thirds of Germans still trust the Volkswagen after the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen loses market leader position to Toyota	1 time on 26 th October 2015 as Volkswagen loses market leader position to Toyota as a result of the scandal.	1 time on 26 th October 2015 as Volkswagen loses market leader position to Toyota.	1 time on 27 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has lost is global market leader position to Toyota and as result of the scandal.	1 time on 9 th of July 2016 as Volkswagen could steal the market leader position back from Toyota.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen regains market leader position from Toyota	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 28 th July 2015 as despite the emissions scandal Volkswagen regains position as top seller in the automotive industry from Toyota.	1 time on 28 th July 2016 as The company dismantled Toyota, which was affected by production disruptions in Japan.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen business in China mentioned	1 time on 27 th October 2015 saying it's the German Chancellor's mission to protect interests in the Asian nation, which represents about €75bn in annual exports for Germany.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as the Volkswagen scandal is unlikely to have many repercussions in China.	Newspaper does not report on this.	9 times throughout the story. First time on 11 th November 2015 as Phaeton, a Volkswagen luxury model, is serving as the official car for the orchestra's tour in China.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 13 th September 2015 as "From our point of view there is no reason for doom-mongering. Nothing has changed in that there are millions of people waiting to buy their first car in China. Especially in the country's West, there are huge potentials" – Martin Winterkorn.	Company communication does not mention this.
Compensation for Volkswagen customers /dealers mentioned	5 times throughout the story. First time on 15 th October 2015 as Customers are in the dark and are demanding answers and compensation for the emissions scandal.	6 times throughout the story 25 th September 2015 as Volkswagen will compensate customers affected by the scandal with \$1000 gift cards.	1 time on 26 th August 2016 as Volkswagen will pay \$1.6 billion to the dealers who have been affected by the emissions scandal.	1 time on 29 th August as Volkswagen has agreed to spend more than \$1.2 billion to compensate 650 US dealers for their losses as a result of the scandal.	1 time on 9 th November 2015 as German consumers want vouchers as compensation.	1 time on 20 th April 2016 as Volkswagen has entered into an agreement with US federal entities to close the issue of nostalgic emissions fraud on diesel-powered vehicles. Volkswagen will pay \$5000 to every customer affected by the scandal.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 14 th January 2016 as 60,000 Volkswagen customers in Europe are urging for compensation from the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen avoids answer questions/stalling	2 times throughout the story. First time on 8 th October 2015 as US CEO gives complex answers to simple questions asked by US Congress.	1 time on 26 th February 2016 as Volkswagen has struggled with its communication throughout the scandal.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th November as a Judge slams VW for stalling class action on emission scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	5 th February 2015 as “Rescheduling is inevitable due to emissions topic.” Volkswagen has scheduled a new date for general assembly.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen managers are afraid to travel to US in case they get prosecuted	1 time on 7 th October 2015 as Volkswagen managers refuse to travel to the US out of fear of prosecution.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Investors sue Volkswagen	3 times throughout the story. First time on 8 th November 2015 as Volkswagen is being sued by one of its investors called Nordea over emissions fixing issues.	1 time on 21 st September 2016 as Volkswagen faces new lawsuits from investors who lost billions of dollars as share decreased after the scandal.	1 time on 22 nd September 2016 as Volkswagen faces \$12 billion in damages claims from investors over the emissions scandal	1 time on 26 th August 2016 as Volkswagen faces Germany's biggest investor lawsuit, as attorneys filed complaints totalling 8.2 billion euros.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st June 2016 as legal representatives say damage could reach \$792 million from investors lawsuit	3 times throughout the story. First time on 14 th march 2016 as Volkswagen Investors have sued the company for three billion euros in compensation for the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of customers suing Volkswagen	3 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Volkswagen owners start hiring lawyers to file suits against the company	2 times throughout the story. First time on September 2015 as Lawyer Steve Berman is going to launch a lawsuit on behalf of all Volkswagen customer affected by the scandal.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th September 2015 as Maurice Blackburn (a leading class action law firm) has announced an investigation into a potential consumer law case against Volkswagen.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 5 th September 2015 as the European Commission will coordinate consumer actions against Volkswagen.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Mention of countries suing/ fining Volkswagen	4 times throughout the story. First time on 1 st October 2015 as Australia says Volkswagen will face legal action if defeat devices are found in their country's vehicles.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Volkswagen faces fines from US government.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 2 nd November 2015 as Volkswagen has been hit with its first lot of lawsuits in Australia as a result of the scandal.	1 time on 3 rd August 2016 as South Korea has fined Volkswagen 17.8 billion won (\$16 million) and suspended sales of 80 of their vehicle models.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th March 2016 as the US government has filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen for promoting "clean diesel" vehicles that are fitted with emissions cheating software.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 4 th January 2016 as the United States Department of Justice has filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen, accusing them of installing illegal devices in an attempt to circumvent emissions tests on nearly 600,000 vehicles.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is facing legal action in the US.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen subsidiary is involved in the scandal	5 times throughout the scandal. First time on 2 nd November 2015 as Audi face lawsuits from Australian car owners.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 2 nd November 2015 as The EPA has now found emissions cheating software in Volkswagen, Audi and Porsche vehicles.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 as Volkswagen has suspended the R&D chiefs of Volkswagen, Audi and Porsche.	1 time on 4 th November 2015 as US government accused Volkswagen of cheating for a second time with six-cylinder Porsche, Audi and Volkswagen cars.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th September 2015 as Volkswagen has initiated an internal investigation to see how many diesel models and variants of its brands Audi, VW and Skoda may have been affected by cheating emissions tests.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th September 2015 as Suzuki Motor Corporation announced that it agreed to sell 1.5% of its stake in Volkswagen AG to Porsche.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 10 th November 2015 as Porsches profits have decreased as a result of the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	2 times throughout company communication. First time on 2 nd October 2015 as Every customer in Germany can find out about his or her Audi being affected by irregularities in relation to the software used to via entering the cars chassis number at www.audi.de .

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Volkswagen scandal involves other vehicle brands	1 time on 11 th November 2015 as investigations into the Volkswagen emissions scandal has found that other brands are involved.	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as The Volkswagen emissions crisis could develop into a bigger threat affecting the German economy and Europe's car industry.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as BMW has been accused of cheating emissions tests after the Volkswagen emissions scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report this.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is not the only automaker to cheat emissions tests.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen considers ending sponsorship contracts	1 time on 22 nd November 2015 as Volkswagen might end Bundesliga club sponsorship to cut costs	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of partnership with other companies	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 24 th October 2015 as Red Bull talked to Volkswagen about Formula 1 partnership after the scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of a fix for emissions issues	2 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th November 2015 as CEO Matthias Müller states that Volkswagen will release a fix for the cars affected by the scandal.	5 times throughout the story. First time on 12 th October 2015 as Volkswagen says they will take different approaches to fix affected vehicles in Europe than in the US.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th November 2015 as Volkswagen says it can fix its rigged engines in 30 minutes but cannot guarantee that won't affect the fuel consumption or the overall performance.	Newspaper does not report this.	12 times throughout the story. First time on 19 th November 2015 as Volkswagen will present US authorities with a plan to fix affected vehicles to comply with regulations.	Newspaper does not report this.	7 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st September 2015 as Volkswagen is undergoing an external investigation and has been asked to find a rapid solution to fix the emissions issues.	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Volkswagen is starting to do the technical modifications of vehicles affected with the engine type EA 189.

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Volkswagens proposal for a fix for affected emissions vehicles is rejected	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 12 th January 2016 as regulators in California formally reject Volkswagens plan to fix its pollution diesel engines.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen fires/ suspends employees	2 times throughout story. First time on 25 th September 2015 as Staff are suspended and Volkswagen appoints new CEO.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 20 th October 2015 as Volkswagen suspends fifth executive in the diesel scandal.	1 time on 28 th September 2015 as Volkswagen has suspended the R&D chiefs of Volkswagen, Audi and Porsche.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th November 2015 as Volkswagen's Audi has suspended two engineers involved in the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 28 th September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn has been suspended as a result of being under investigation for playing a part in the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen admits emissions scandal was the result of many mistakes	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as Volkswagen admits that the emissions scandal was the result of a "whole chain" of failures.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 20 th October 2015 as Volkswagen suspends fifth executive in the diesel scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 13 th January 2016 as Volkswagen CEO Matthias Müller says Volkswagen made grave misjudgements.	1 time on 10 th December 2015 as The Chairman of Volkswagen, Hans Dieter Poetsch states: "we are not talking about a one-off mistake but a whole chain of mistakes that was not interrupted at any point along the timeline." (Germany)

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Volkswagen is accused of withholding emails/ information from investigators	1 time on 8 th January 2016 as Volkswagen was criticized for withholding emails from states investigating the scandal.	1 time on 8 th January 2016 as Volkswagen refuses to give emails and other communications among executives to attorneys general in the US.	1 time on 19 th February 2016 as Volkswagens internal memos and emails suggest that executives delayed talking with US regulators after being confronted in early 2014.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 8 th June 2016 as Volkswagen has been accused of covering up legal documents during investigations into the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen apologises to America/ President	2 times throughout the story. First time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO will tell US Congress that he knew about the emissions issues in 2014 and says "I'm sorry".	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Volkswagen CEO personally apologises to US President for cheating emissions tests.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 10 th October 2015 as US CEO Michael Horn will apologise to Congress and he also admitted he was made aware of "a possible emissions noncompliance" in early 2014.	1 time on 11 th January 2016 as Volkswagen has apologised to the US for the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 8 th October 2015 as Volkswagens US CEO Michael Horn apologises to Congress for the emissions scandal. He said the company has "violated the public's trust." (USA).
Volkswagen rejects compensation for customers affected in Europe	1 time on 21 st January as Volkswagen decides to reject compensation for European drivers.	1 time on 15 th August 2016 as US car owners will receive compensation of about \$20,000 per car affected by the scandal but Europe car owners only get their car software fixed.	1 time on 4 th July 2016 as Volkswagen's CEO has rejected calls for the carmaker to compensate customers in Europe.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 21 st January 2016 as Volkswagen said on Thursday that there will be no compensation program for Para motorists affected by the emission scandal in Europe.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen says it can't provide compensation for German customers	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 3 rd July 2016 as "One does not need to be a mathematician to realize that x amounts of compensations would overcharge even VW."- Volkswagen CEO	Company communication does not mention this.
Cheating emissions test might not be illegal in Europe	Newspaper does not report on this.	11th November 2015 as There is a loophole in Europe that lets car makers change the performance settings of its engines before pollution tests.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen didn't cheat emissions tests in Europe	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd October 2015 as Volkswagen confirms today that no software containing defeat device is installed in vehicles with EA 288 EU5 as well as EU6-engines in the European Union. (Germany)
Volkswagen postpones release for annual financial results/ meeting	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen has decided to postpone the release of their financial results due to emissions scandal	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen is going to delay reporting its annual earnings and move back the date of its annual shareholders' meeting.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen will push back the publication of their 2015 results and their annual shareholders meeting	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen states it postponed the publication of the financial results of 2015 and its annual meeting.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen will set a new date for the publication of the annual accounts for 2015 due to remaining questions and calculations

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Volkswagens new date for the release for annual financial results/meeting is announced	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 4 th March 2016 as The 2016 Annual Press Conference of Volkswagen AG will be held in Wolfsburg on the 28th April 2016. (Germany)
Former employee files whistle-blower lawsuit against Volkswagen	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 14 th March as a former Volkswagen employee has filed a whistle-blower lawsuit in Michigan	Newspaper does not report on this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Fired employee says Volkswagen deleted documents regarding the scandal	1 time on 14 th March 2016 as A fired employee states that Volkswagen deleted documents about the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 15 th March 2016 as A fired employee for Volkswagen has filed a lawsuit claiming that the deleted documents and obstructed justice during the ongoing investigation.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Fired employee retracts statement	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 30 th June 2016 as former employee withdraws wrongful dismissal lawsuit against Volkswagen.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen to buy back or repair affected vehicles	2 times throughout the story. First time on 21st April 2016 as Volkswagen will buy back or repair nearly 600,000 vehicles affected by the emissions scandal.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th January 2016 as Volkswagen might buy back diesel cars, which have been affected by the scandal, if they can't be fixed.	1 time on 21 st April 2016 as Volkswagen is setting aside \$10 billion (USD) to settle all US claims and has offered to buy back owners cars at \$5000 each.	Newspaper does not report this.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 7 th January 2016 as Volkswagen will not buy back cars in India as they do not break Indian emissions laws.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 6 th January 2016 as Volkswagen might buy back 115,000 cars in the United States.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
German government accused of protecting Volkswagen	1 time on 25 th April 2016 as Transport select committee members accuse minister Robert Goodwill of protecting Volkswagen reputation	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Makes reference to German government/ boardroom involvement in Volkswagens decisions	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as Volkswagens problems start at the boardroom as all decisions are influenced by one family, the government and also labour influences.	1 time on 21 st July 2016 as The decision to cheat emissions tests which involved dozens of engineers and managers also came from the company's boardroom.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 29 th October 2016 as Volkswagens culture is critical, underdeveloped and lead from the top down.	15 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn said "As CEO I accept responsibility for the irregularities that have been found in diesel engines and have therefore requested the Supervisory Board to agree on terminating my function as CEO of the Volkswagen Group."

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Volkswagen accused of trying to block the EU push for electric vehicles	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Volkswagen and Shell have been accused of trying to block the EUs push for electric vehicles.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen/ Germany shrug off scandal/ carry on with business as if nothing has happened	2 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th October as Germany shrugs off Volkswagen scandal.	1 time on 21 st January 2016 as Volkswagen has admitted to cheating emissions tests in the US but not in Europe.	1 time on 11 th December 2015 as Volkswagen said that only "slight deviations" were found in a fraction of the 800,000 cars involved in the emissions scandal investigation so the scandal is not as bad as they feared.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 23 rd May 2015 as Three investor groups have called for a new independent investigation into Volkswagen's emissions scandal, saying the German inquiries might not have been far-reaching or transparent enough.	Newspaper does not report this.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 13 th September 2015 "From our point of view there is no reason for doom-mongering. Nothing has changed in that there are millions of people waiting to buy their first car in China. Especially in the country's West, there are huge potentials" – Martin Winterkorn.	1 time on 28 th October 2015 as Matthias Müller states: "We have to look beyond the current situation and create the conditions for Volkswagen's successful further development." (Germany)
Volkswagen to set to settle legal claims	2 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd June 2016 as Volkswagen will settle the emissions scandal for more than \$10.2 billion.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th June 2016 as the settlement for the diesel emissions scandal will cost the company \$10 billion which includes financial compensation for car owners.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 21 st April as Volkswagen said that only "slight deviations" were found in a fraction of the 800,000 cars involved in the emissions scandal investigation so the scandal is not as bad as they feared.	1 time on 27 th June 2016 as Volkswagen will spend \$10.2 billion to settle their emissions cheating scandal in the United States.	1 time on 28 th June 2016 as Volkswagen will spend \$14.7 billion to settle consumer lawsuits and government allegations in the US.	1 time on 23 rd June 2016 as Volkswagen will pay nearly \$ 10.3 billion to settle US regulators' complaints as a result of the scandal.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th June 2016 as Volkswagens US settlement for their emissions scandal will be significantly more expensive than previously thought.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th June 2016 as Volkswagen AG announced today that it has reached settlement agreements with the United States Department of Justice, FTC and PSC to resolve civil claims regarding eligible Volkswagen and Audi 2.0L TDI diesel engine vehicles in the US.

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Volkswagen in dispute with supplier over emissions scandal	1 time on 22 nd on August 2016 as Output stops at six Volkswagen plants after a dispute with one of their suppliers.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout story. First time on 20 th august 2016 as Two of Volkswagens suppliers have accused the company of cancelling contracts without explanation or offering compensation, prompting them to stop deliveries.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen settles supplier dispute over emissions scandal	1 time on 23 rd September 2016 as Volkswagen has stopped the dispute with their supplier.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen supplier plays a key role in emissions cheating	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 18 th August 2016 as Volkswagens German supplier Robert Bosch GmbH has been found to be a key contributor in the development of the software used to cheat emissions tests.	1 time on 28 th September 2015 as Volkswagen staff and one of its suppliers were warned about the emissions cheating software years before the scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 18 th August 2016 as Bosch was a "knowing and active participant" in the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	1 time on 27 th September 2015 as Volkswagens technicians and one of their suppliers were warned of the emissions cheating long before the scandal broke.	1 time on 14 th October 2015 as Bosch warned Volkswagen about illegal software use in diesel cars.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen engineer is accused of having involvement in the scandal	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 9 th September 2015 as In the US, a Volkswagen engineer, James Liang, was accused of being directly involved in the software development used to cheat emissions tests.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen engineer pleads guilty to involvement in the emissions scandal	1 time on 9 th September 2016 as An engineer has pleaded guilty to conspiracy during the emissions scandal.	1 time on 9 th September 2016 as A Volkswagen engineer pleads guilty to conspiring to defraud regulators and car owners.	1 time on 10 th September 2016 as a Volkswagen engineer has pleaded guilty to conspiring to defraud US regulators and customers which is the first criminal charge in the investigation.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout story. First time on 9 th September 2016 as a Volkswagen engineer has pleaded guilty to one count of conspiracy over the emissions scandal and has agreed to cooperate with the investigation.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 9 th September 2016 as A Volkswagen engineer pleads guilty to involvement in the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
It took EPA pressure to get Volkswagen to admit to their misconduct	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagen only admitted their fault after the EPA put pressure on them to do so.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Newspaper/ company asks a question	1 time on 30 th September 2015 What happens next for cars affected in UK?	5 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 How did Volkswagen think it would get away with this?	1 time on 1st October 2015 How many deaths have been caused as a result of Volkswagen cheating their emissions tests?	1 time on 29 th September 2015 Has the Volkswagen emissions scandal created a future for electric cars?	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th September 2015 Will Martin Winterkorn still receive his company bonus worth millions?	Company communication does not mention this.

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Germany is directly affected by the scandal	2 times throughout the scandal. First time on 4th October 2015 talking about the Volkswagen emissions scandals effect on the German economy.	3 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as The Volkswagen diesel scandal ‘shoves Berlin off high ground’ and ‘tarnishing its claim to moral leadership’.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as The Volkswagen emissions scandal has created a negative reputation for the company and Germany as a whole.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 19 th March 2016 as The mood in Wolfsburg, Volkswagens home town, is gloomy.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 9 th October 2015 as Analysts have estimated that the damage from the Volkswagen emissions scandal will affect the money the company has invested in sports. This will inevitably suffer a reduction and will have a strong impact on Germany.	1 time on 29 th August 2016 as Volkswagens manufacturing cities affected by scandal regarding employment and finances.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen has a long history of test rigging	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen has a long history of ‘sidestepping and duping regulators’. They have also advertised ‘top-notch clean diesel’ cars which is not true.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Customer letter sent in to the newspaper/ company	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 24 th September 2015 as A customer letter to the editor states that “The VW emblem on the hood has been replaced by a figurative scarlet letter”.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen hires anticorruption manager	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 16 th October 2015 as Volkswagen hires a top anticorruption manager to help clean up the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen advertised green/clean diesel image	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Volkswagen advertised 'top-notch clean diesel' cars which is not true.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen accused/sued for misleading advertising of green/clean diesel image	Newspaper does not report on this	1 time on 30 th March 2016 as the Federal Trade Commission has filed a lawsuit against the Volkswagen Group of America regarding their "clean diesel" advertising being deceptive.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th March 2016 as the US government has filed a lawsuit against Volkswagen for promoting "clean diesel" vehicles that are fitted with emissions cheating software.	1 time on 29 th March 2016 as Before the scandal broke, Volkswagen promoted its diesel vehicles as environmentally correct.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen directors say they were kept in the dark over the emissions scandal	4 times throughout the scandal. First time on 29 th September 2015 as Car owners don't really understand what is going on.	1 time on 23 rd October 2015 as at least three of Volkswagens board members were left in the dark for two weeks after top executives admitted to their deception to the EPA.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Outside country or individuals left in the dark over the emissions scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 8 th October 2015 as Nearly 500,000 American owners sit in recall limbo over the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	6 times throughout the story. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Australia is unaware if they have been affected by the scandal or not so they are demanding answers from Volkswagen.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is left in the dark over emissions scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 26 th May 2016 as Six months after Volkswagen India voluntarily announced a recall of 323,700 cars the CEO of Volkswagen India said that ARAI didn't show them any reports regarding the emissions scandal investigation.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen hires expert from Apple	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 9 th November 2015 as Volkswagen will begin cutting costs in order to pay for the scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen asks employees to come forward with information	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 12 th November 2015 as Volkswagen is asking employees to come forward and tell them what they know about the emissions cheating.	1 time on 13 th November 2015 as Volkswagen has set deadline till the end of November for workers to come forward and tell them what they know about the emissions cheating.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is compared to using slave labour like the Nazis	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 17 th November 2015 as Volkswagen is compared to the Nazis for using slave labour in their history as a company.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is accused of duping shareholders	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 18 th November 2016 as Volkswagen has a new claim against them stating that they duped shareholders.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 16 th September 2016 as Volkswagen shareholders are suing the company for ten billion euros as a result of the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen asked EU for lenient emissions testing	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 st December 2015 as Volkswagen got two parts of Europe's auto emissions tests removed-provisions to measure the significant pollution released when the engine has started but not warmed up.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen hires a compensation specialist	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 17 th December 2015 as Volkswagen has hired Kenneth R. Feinberg, a specialist in compensation to address the cars affected by the diesel scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is asked to fix affected school busses	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 8 th January 2016 as health officials in Maryland want Volkswagen to replace old school busses which have been affected by the diesel scandal to reduce the chance of children getting sick.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen tries to win back US consumers	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 10 th January 2016 as Volkswagen is trying to win back US consumers at the annual Detroit auto show.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on the 11 th January 2016 as “We know we have disappointed our customers, the state federals and the overall public in the US. It isn’t just cars we need to fix- it is our trustworthiness.” – Volkswagen CEO.	Company communication does not mention this.

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One billionaire family acquired power of Volkswagen before the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 14 th February 2016 as a criminal trial in Germany have highlighted how the billionaire family acquired ultimate power of Volkswagen leading up to the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen mislead US regulators	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 18 th February 2016 as Volkswagen memos suggestion the company mislead US regulators.	1 time on 19 th February as Volkswagens internal memos and emails suggest that executives delayed talking with US regulators after being confronted in early 2014.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 9 th June 2016 as German prosecutors are investigating whether Volkswagen officials have erased information that could be damaging to the company before they admitted to US officials that it had cheated emissions tests.	1 time on 8 th January 2016 as Volkswagen has not shared all their documents regarding internal processes with US judiciaries.	Company communication does not mention this.
Former executives of Porsche have been taken to court over emissions scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd October 2015 as Former Porsche chief is in court regarding the emissions cheating scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Former executives of Porsche have been found not guilty/ Volkswagen wants charges dropped	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 18 th March 2016 as Two former top executives of Porsche were found not guilty in regards to stock market manipulation.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 14 th March 2016 as Volkswagens defence wants the legal claims against former Porsche chiefs to be cleared.	Company communication does not mention this.

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A Volkswagen presentation showed how they could cheat emissions tests	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 26 th April 2016 saying in 2006 a PowerPoint presentation was shown to the company on how they could cheat emissions tests in the US.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen challenges allegations/ tests	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 25 th May 2016 as Volkswagen challenges allegations made by the US Justice Department over the diesel emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 25 th January 2016 as Volkswagen Group chief executive Matthias Mueller called for Europe's rewrite tests to close the gap between the actual and laboratory results amid the German automaker's scam investigation.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 2 nd March 2016 as Volkswagen announced that the company has submitted a statement of defence to the Braunschweig District Court in relation to the allegation of a violation of disclosure obligations under capital markets law. (Germany)
Volkswagen manager encouraged employee to destroy documents for the EPA could see them	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 9 th June 2016 as German prosecutors are investigating whether or not a Volkswagen manager encouraged employees to destroy or remove documents before the EPA accused them of manipulating emissions tests in the US.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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A South Korean court issues warrant for Volkswagen executive	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 24 th June 2016 as a South Korean court has issued a warrant for a Volkswagen executive in regards to the emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of part of the scandal being the largest in history	Newspaper does not report on this.	4 times throughout the story. First time on 26 th September 2015 as the Volkswagen diesel scandal is shaping up to be one of the great corporate scandals of the age.	1 time on 28 th June 2016 as Volkswagen will settle its emissions scandal case for \$14.7 billion (USD), which is the largest pay out by a car maker to consumers in US history.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on the 3rd December 2015 as Volkswagen recall of 3.24 lakh cars becomes a record recall for India.	1 time on 8 th January 2016 as Volkswagens sales have decreased by 4.8% which is the first time in 11 years.	2 times throughout story. First time on 28 th October 2015 as a result of the emissions scandal Volkswagen faces its first losses in twenty years.	Company communication does not mention this.
Australia tightens emissions limits	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 24 th September 2015 as Australian pollution standards are getting reviewed after the Volkswagen scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
German's DAX falls to an all-time low	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 25 th September 2015 as Germany's DAX Index has fallen to its lowest level of the year due to the Volkswagen scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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NARMA calls for tough action on Volkswagen	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 9 th October 2015 as NRMA (Australian insurance company) has asked for tougher regulation of vehicle recalls for the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Hollywood wants to make a movie about the Volkswagen scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 14 th October 2015 as US movie studio Paramount Pictures and actor Leonardo DiCaprio's production company want to make a movie about the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 13 th October 2015 as Leonardo DiCaprio's production company wants to make a movie about the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen says CO2 figures are 'implausible'	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 18 th November 2015 as Volkswagen admits CO2 figures for more than 430,000 cars are "implausible".	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen says affected vehicles can be fixed but it might affect performance	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 26 th November 2015 as VW says it can fix its rigged engines in 30 minutes but cannot guarantee that won't affect the fuel consumption or the overall performance.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 23 rd November 2015 as Volkswagen is trying to trying to find a solution for the emissions issues with as little impact on the cars performance as possible.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Cheating emissions tests was an open secret in the company	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 23 rd January 2016 saying while trying to meet environmental standards, Volkswagen's development of the software used to cheat emissions tests was an open secret in the company.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen might be forced to undo environmental damage	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 23 rd February 2016 as Volkswagen could be forced to undo the environmental damage by way of fines or a Volkswagen funded program to build the infrastructure to power electric cars.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd February 2016 as Volkswagen could be forced to undo the environmental damage by way of fines or a Volkswagen funded program to build the infrastructure to power electric cars.	1 time on 17 th March 2016 as Volkswagen is under negotiations with US authorities regarding the environmental fund.	Company communication does not mention this.
German car makers have lowered their performance targets	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 15 th October 2015 as Nearly 90 percent of German car makers operating in China have lowered their performance targets as a result of the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen says it will not cut investments in China	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 2 nd November 2015 as Volkswagen said it will not cut investment in China despite major losses.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is attempting to make inroads into luxury cars	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th December 2015 as Volkswagen AG will stop producing its Phaeton sedan by the end of March, in an effort to make inroads into the luxury cars.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
China is upgrading emissions standards	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 15 th February 2016 as China is upgrading vehicle emission standards to control car exhaust pollution after the scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen introduced environmentally friendly power system	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 22 nd February 2016 as Volkswagen unveiled an environmental friendly power system at its No 3 car plant in Shanghai.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen spending money on enriching Skoda's portfolios	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 1 st April 2016 as Volkswagen will spend around 2 billion euros (\$2.27 billion) over the next five years to enrich Skoda's portfolios in China	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen building new plants in China	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 10 th May 2016 as Volkswagen plans to build a new vehicle manufacturing base in Tianjin, in order to increase its presence in China.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen imports new cars into China	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 st time on 8 th June 2016 as Volkswagen has imported the new Sharan which has hit the Chinese market.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen announces agreement on new 2025 initiative	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 11 th April 2016 as The CEO of Volkswagen AG, Matthias Müller, and the Volkswagen General Works Council Chairman, Bernd Osterloh, have agreed on Volkswagens 2025 initiative. (Germany)

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Volkswagen creates new strategy to compete with competition/improve the company	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	First time on 13 th June 2016 as Volkswagen has a new strategy to consolidate its leading position in the world's largest market.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 15 th June 2016 as CEO Matthias Müller is conducting a comprehensive strategic review that includes budgeting for a focus on growth at any cost, introducing the company in the field of car sharing and enhancing the development of electric vehicles.	1 time on 13 th October 2015 as "We will become more efficient, create a new outline for the product range and fundamental technologies and will achieve leeway for future-directed technologies through an accelerated efficiency programme" – Volkswagens chief of branding.	1 time on 16 th June 2016 as Matthias Müller introduces the "TOGETHER – Strategy 2025", the future program that we are unveiling today, ushers in the biggest change process in the history of Volkswagen." (Germany)
Volkswagen mentions Corporate social responsibility/ Corporate responsibility	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	1 time on 22 nd July 2016 as Volkswagen AG is committed to giving back to society in its "second home of China".	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 20 th January 2016 "We have to ensure that the corporate responsibility for each vehicle project is clearly assigned. We expect these changes to yield an acceleration boost in development. This step represents a core element of 'New Volkswagen', the new strategic direction of our brand." (Germany)

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Volkswagen denies cheating emissions in India	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 5 th December 2015 as Volkswagen has denied rigging emission standards in India and will continue the production and sales of its vehicles in the country.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
The Transport minister gives clean pass to Volkswagen	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 13 th December 2015 as The transport ministry has said the reports which were sent to them did not contain any form of violation.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen creates an independent claims program for owners	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 18 th December 2015 as Volkswagen is creating an independent claims program for the owners of nearly 600,000 diesel vehicles affected by the scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 16 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has created a checklist for customers regarding their affected cars.	1 time on 2 nd October 2015 as every customer in Germany can find out about his or her Audi being affected by irregularities in relation to the software used to via entering the cars chassis number at www.audi.de . (Germany)
Volkswagen tries to rebuild its brand and product presence in India	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 5 th February 2016 as Volkswagen is carefully rebuilding its brand and product presence in India after the emissions scandal broke.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen creates ‘Think Blue Factory’ a sustainability program	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 25 th February 2016 as Volkswagens 2015 'Think Blue Factory' program aims at achieving sustainability through environment-friendly manufacturing.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen hires 800 new employees at its Chakan plant	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Volkswagen has hired 800 new employees at its Chakan plant to meet the demand from exports and to accommodate the production of new Ameo.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen said this crisis will not slow the company down	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Volkswagen CEO Matthias Mueller has said Volkswagen “is far more than a crises” and he vowed the crises will not slow them down and they will overcome it.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
The Volkswagen scandal has caused a decline in demand for imported cars	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 9 th May 2016 as The Volkswagen emissions scandal has caused a decline in the demand for imported cars in South Korea.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen releases Ameo sedan in hopes of recapturing its domestic market	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 25 th May 2016 as Volkswagen released its first Ameo sedan in hopes that the Ameo will enable it to recapture a higher share in the domestic market.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen considers building a battery factory	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 26 th may 2016 as Volkswagen is considering building a multi-billion-euro battery factory as part of a major expansion of its electric-car portfolio.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen will stop producing 40 models as apart of new strategy	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	1 time on 19 th June 2016 as Volkswagen will stop producing more than 40 car models in the coming years as part of a new strategy.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen scandal becomes a joke on social networks	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 "If they lie to their children, Imagine what they tell you to sell you a car. "	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Suzuki announces they are selling shares	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 26 th September 2015 as Suzuki Motor Corporation announced that it agreed to sell 1.5% of its stake in Volkswagen AG to Porsche.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen group loses 'Green car of the year'	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 1 st October 2015 as Volkswagen Group's Audi A3 and Volkswagen Jetta lose their 'Green car of the year' status as they are affected by the emissions cheating scandal.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
A ratings agency has downgraded Volkswagens rating after the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 9 th November 2015 as The rating agency Fitch Ratings announced on Monday that it downgraded Volkswagen's note in two steps. Fitch said the cut in the note reflects "problems of corporate governance, management and internal control.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen says it is not under pressure to sell truck division	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 31 st January 2016 as Volkswagen is not under pressure to sell its truck division and raise money to face the losses of billions of euros.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
Germany wants to introduce surprise emissions tests	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 14 th February 2016 as Germany wants to introduce surprise emissions tests for vehicles the same stimulus of doping tests for athletes.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.
The EU is updating the way they test for emissions	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 28 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has incurred a significant loss as a result of the emissions scandal. The EU is updating the way they test emissions in the future.	Company communication does not mention this.
Mention of Volkswagens delay in announcing scandal in United States	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 7 th March 2016 as Volkswagen's delay in announcing the scandal of diesel testing in the United States was a legitimate measure in order to reach agreement with regulators to limit the costs of the problem.	Newspaper does not report this.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen holds a crisis meeting after scandal breaks	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as Volkswagen hold a crisis meeting to deal with the fallout of the scandal.	1 time on 1 st October 2015 as after seven hours the Executive Committee of the Supervisory Board of Volkswagen discussed the current status of the emissions issue and will make proposals of how to handle future matters. (Germany)
Volkswagen managers are insured for \$500 million	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th September 2015 as Volkswagens top managers have Directors and Officers liability insurance worth 500 million euros which can be used to pay claims against VW executives from shareholders and legal expenses.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen talks about how to handle the aftermath of a scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 11 th October 2015 as “The way to deal with mistakes is to be smart and considerate about them, one cannot conceal them and instead has to attend to the causes and resolve the consequences” – Volkswagen.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen talks about increasing positive communication and leadership	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout story. First time on 24 th September 2015 as “For the future we need a climate in which problems aren’t hidden but communicated openly to superiors. We need a culture in which you are able and allowed to fight your supervisor about the best way” – chief of industrial council.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen will continue to invest in US markets despite the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th October 2015 as Volkswagen will continue to invest in US market regardless of the outcome of the scandal.	1 time on 10 th January 2016 as Volkswagen is firmly standing by its commitment and investment plans in the US. (Germany)
Volkswagen is awarded the IG Nobel Prize for Chemistry	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 30 th October 2015 as Volkswagen has been awarded the Ig Nobel Prize in Chemistry for “for solving the problem of excessive automobile pollution emissions by automatically, electromechanically producing fewer emissions whenever the cars are being tested” - Ig Nobel officials.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen IG Nobel Prize for Chemistry award is mocked	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 23 rd September 2016 as Volkswagen receiving the Ig Nobel prize for Chemistry for solving a problem they were part of creating in the first place has been mocked.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen is contacted every customer affected by the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 25 th November 2015 as Volkswagen is contacting every single customer who has been affected by the emissions scandal and is offering them free substitute mobility.	Company communication does not mention this.
The CEO of Audi is under investigation for involvement in the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout the story. First time on 28 th November 2015 as Rupert Stadler Audis CEO is under investigation as a result of the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
There have been no production halts in Germany	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 2 nd December 2015 as Despite the scandal there have been no production halts at Volkswagens German factories.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
The Volkswagen scandal has made German companies hesitant to go digital	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 21 st December 2015 as After the Volkswagen emissions scandal, German companies have become hesitant to use digitalisation in their products.	Company communication does not mention this.
Former FBI chief will be mediator during investigations into the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 12 th January 2016 as Robert S. Mueller, former FBI chief, will be mediator during the investigations and legal action into the Volkswagen emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
US Department of Justice gives Volkswagen an ultimatum	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 26 th February 2016 as US Department of Justice has given Volkswagen an ultimatum- they will not certify any of the company's 2016 2.0-liter diesels models until it has received a credible explanation for what CARB was finding.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen awards employees bonuses	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 3 rd March 2016 as Volkswagen awards bonuses to employees despite small profits in 2015.	Company communication does not mention this.

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	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>	<i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>	<i>China Daily</i>	<i>Times of India</i>	<i>O GLOBO</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>	<i>Volkswagen</i>
Volkswagen faces a zero tolerance line for their retrofits	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 16 th March 2016 as Volkswagen faces another problem- There is a Zero Tolerance Line for their retrofits for Passat vehicles.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen shareholders are concerned about their dividends	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th March 2016 as Volkswagens shareholders are concerned about their dividends as the company faces financial pressure during the scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagens emissions cheating is not detected in France	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 28 th April 2016 as Investigations into the emissions cheating scandal at Volkswagen has not detected emissions cheating in France.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen will fix faulty software for free	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 8 th May 2016 as Volkswagen will charge a free service to fix faulty software.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen wants to update rules for managers salaries	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 18 th May 2016 as Volkswagen calls for an upgrade in company rules for managers salaries.	Company communication does not mention this.

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Former chief executive receives large pay package after scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th May 2016 as Bernd Pischetsrieder (former chief executive) has received over 50 million euros in a pay package even after company dismissal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen attempts to keep customers through price reductions	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 31 st May 2016 as Volkswagen is attempting to keep customers through high price reductions.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen brand manager under investigation	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 21 st June 2016 as Herbert Diess (brand manager) of Volkswagen is under investigation for his involvement in the emissions scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen brand manager says he has done nothing wrong	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 4 th July 2016 as Herbert Diess (brand manager) states that he is “convinced that I have behaved correctly at every point in time”	Company communication does not mention this.

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Volkswagen is praised for their cooperation during the scandal	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 25 th July 2016 as The California environmental authority praises Volkswagen for their cooperation during the scandal.	Company communication does not mention this.
Volkswagen says the violations go against everything the company stand for	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 22 nd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn says 'The violations of these diesel motors by our company go against everything that Volkswagen stands for....at this time I don't yet have the answers to all the questions. I'm utterly sorry that we have damaged trust in this way.' (Germany)
Someone is shocked by the scandals occurrence	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	2 times throughout company communication. First time on 23 rd September 2015 as Martin Winterkorn says "I am shocked by the events of the past few days. Above all, I am stunned that misconduct on such a scale was possible in the Volkswagen Group."

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Volkswagens Executive board says that these matters need to be clarified and corrected	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 23 rd September 2015 as The Executive Committee agrees that these incidents need to be clarified with great conviction and that mistakes are corrected. (Germany)
Volkswagen supervisory board gives authority for investigations	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 25 th September 2015 as The Supervisory Board has given the Chairman authority to oversee German and US lawyers in investigating the manipulation of emissions data.
Volkswagen announces major changes	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 25 th September 2015 as Major changes: Reorganization of the North America region. Porsche will brand group with Bentley and Bugatti. There will be an upgrade of brands and regions. New Group functions for efficiency and future oriented fields. Further Board of Management changes and streamlining the Group Board of Management. (Germany)

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Lower Saxony's Prime minister visits Volkswagen plant	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 21 st October 2015 as Lower Saxony's Prime Minister Stephan Weil visited Volkswagen's main plant in Wolfsburg he was joined by Volkswagens CEO and Chairman of the Group Works Council. (Germany)
Volkswagen's Supervisory Board is deeply concerned CO2 levels	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 3 rd November 2015 as The Supervisory Board is deeply concerned by the discovery of irregularities in CO2 levels of Volkswagen Group vehicles. (Germany)
Volkswagens Board of Management announces investigation	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 3 rd November 2015 as The Board of Management of Volkswagen AG has announced there would be a comprehensive investigation to look for further irregularities in relation to emissions in further vehicle models. (Germany)

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Germany's Federal Motor Transport Authority has signed off on remedial measures for affected vehicles	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 16 th December 2016 as the KBA has fully signed off on all of the measures. The remedial measures for all affected vehicles are now confirmed. (Germany)
External Relations and Government Relations becomes separate department in function headed by CEO	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 12 th January 2016 as Dr. Thomas Steg, Volkswagen General Representative for External Relations and Government Affairs, will report directly to Müller and will also take charge of sustainability concerns. (Germany)
Volkswagen announces new Volkswagen Group Future Centres	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th February 2016 as CEO Matthias Müller announced three new "Volkswagen Group Future Centres." (Germany)

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Volkswagens vehicles are now manufactured to be more environmentally friendly	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 7 th July 2016 as Volkswagens vehicles and components are now manufactured in a way which is 25 percent more environmentally compatible than five years ago. (Germany)
Volkswagen passes bank stress test	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 29 th July 2016 as Volkswagen Financial Services AG has once again successfully passed the bank stress test coordinated by the European Banking Authority (EBA). (Germany)
Volkswagen appoints a sustainability council	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report on this.	Newspaper does not report this	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	Newspaper does not report this.	1 time on 28 th September 2016 as The Volkswagen Group strengthens its sustainability management and appoints an international Sustainability Council. (Germany)